# HISTORY

OF THE

STATE and SUFFERINGS

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE

RESTORATION

TO THE

REVOLUTION.

WITHAN

INTRODUCTION,

Containing the most remarkable Occurrences relating to that Church from the REFORMATION.

By WILLIAM CROOKS HANK, A. M. Minister of the Scots Congregation in Swallow-street, Westminster.

VOL. II.

### LONDON:

Printed for J. OSWALD at the Rose and Crown, R. HETT at the Bible, and J. DAVIDSON at the Angel, all in the Poultry; A. MILLAR over against Katharine-street in the Strand, and J. BUCKLAND at the Buck in Paternosser-Row, MDCCXLIX.

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# HISTORY

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## CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

#### CHAP. I.

Of the profecutions for Conventicles and other branches of Nonconformity, together with the violent death of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, till the rising at Bothwel.

ROM what has been related in the former vo- 1679. lume, we may eafily form a judgment of the difmal state of the nation, on account of the arbitrary proceedings of those, who had the management of affairs, and the unaccountable feverities, which many innocent people endured. However, Conventicles in houses and in the fields were still continued; for the people were resolved to venture their ALL, rather than be deprived of the benefit of the ordinances purely difpensed. But the continuance and increase of their oppressions obliged them to take measures, which, otherwise, perhaps, could not be justified; but I shall relate the transactions, as much as possible, in the order of time wherein they happened.

On the 2d of January 1679, the Council wrote to Masters of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Edin-universiburgh and Aberdeen, enjoining them to call the Masters ties, &c. of the Universities, and other School-masters before oaths. VOL. II. them,

1679. them, and oblige them to take the oaths appointed by law, and to deprive the recufants; for they were refolved, that none should be entrusted with the education of youth, but those of their own principles. afterwards hear what was the effect of this.

Mr. T. Warner.

On the 4th, Mr. T. Warner, who had been indulged to the parish of Balmaclellan, was summoned before the Council for not keeping his confinement, and for converfing with intercommuned persons, and preaching at Conventicles, but not appearing, was outlawed. However, he furvived this tragical period, and continued at

Balmaclellan till the day of his death, 1716.

Mas. Barclay.

On the 9th, Mrs. Margaret Barclay, Neice of Sir David Barclay of Collernie, who had, for some time, been in prison at Edinburgh for being at private meetings, was fet at liberty for the recovery of her health, upon giving fecurity for five hundred merks to return to jail by the 20th, if called, or when called; and, mean while, to confine herfelf to her room under the same penalty.

Overtures for Suppressing Schism, &c.

After many confultations held about the end of the last year, for suppressing the Presbyterians, regulating the forces, collecting the cefs, and other things of the like nature, at last, on the 9th of January, the Committee of the Council for public affairs agreed to fend the following overtures or proposals to his Majesty, for his approbation. 1. That the Council appoint Sheriffdeputies, and other Officers, to put the laws in execution, only against such as withdraw from publick ordinances, keep Conventicles, are guilty of diforderly baptisms and marriages, harbour or converse with fugitive and intercommuned persons or other vagrant preachers, and may renew the commissions given to noblemen, &c. in August, 1677. (See v. i. p. 409.) and give them such other instructions as they shall think proper. 2. That the Soldiers have orders to disperse Conventicles by force of arms, and be indemnified for killing or wounding, in case any of these meetings make resistance, when commanded to dismiss in the King's name. 2. That the Soldiers have power to feize and imprison the Preacher, and as many others as they can conveniently carry with them, untill they find bail to answer for their crimes, &c. And

And, fays the overture, "in regard the multitudes, who 1679. frequent these rendezvouses of rebellion, are such as they cannot all be feized, nor probation eafily led against them, the Soldiers be impowered to take from the rest of the persons found thereat (whom they cannot conveniently carry to prison) their upper garments, that the fame may be a means of conviction, and an evidence against them; and that the Soldiers be empowered to take all the arms, that any persons shall be found to have at these feditious meetings, and the horses of any that shall be found to have arms." 4. That none be allowed to enter into the fecond class in colleges, nor received Apprentices, till they oblige themselves to keep the Church. 5. That his Majesty would be pleased to order the Council to fee, that Act 5 of Seff. 2, and Act 2 of Seff. 3 of his first Parl. (vol. I. p. 137, 160) appointing Magistrates and Council of Burghs, and others in publick trust, to take the declaration, and all the acts concerning Pedagogues, Chaplains and Schoolmasters, discharging them to officiate without license from their respective ordinaries; and the acts and proclamations of Council published thereupon, be put in due execution. 6. That the King would order the Lords of the Treasury to pay five hundred pounds sterling, to any who should apprehend Mr. John Wellb; three thousand merks for the apprehending of any of their Preachers, who are declared Traitors; two thousand merks for each of those Preachers, who are declared Fugitives, or are intercommuned; and nine hundred merks for every other Field-preacher: And, 7. That the Council proceed against all the indulged Ministers, who don't observe their orders; and that, upon the decease of any of them, the vacancy be supplied by the orthodox Ministers.

These overtures for suppressing schism, &c. were all Remarks. approved of by the Council, and fent to his Majesty, who ordered the Council to put them in execution; which they did accordingly. From these we may see the spirit of the then prevailing party, and that the execution of these things could not but exasperate people to the highest degree. Such powers given to the military were not only unprecedented, but entirely subver-

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1679. five of the liberties of the subject. But the reader will make his own reflections.

Letters for

While these things were in agitation, the Council, on the a frigate. 16th of January, wrote to Lauderdale, desiring him to interpose with the King to grant one of his frigates to transport those under sentence of banishment to the plantations. Mr. Peden and others, who had been fent off last year, were set at liberty at London, as has been related (vol i. p 475) and the granting this would, for the future, prevent the like: but whether this was complied with, I know not; however, it is easy to see, with what rigour they were willing to proceed against those, whom they called diforderly persons.

Mr. Veitch apprehended.

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On the 19th, Mr. William Veitch (after the Revolution Minister at Dumfries) returning in the night-time to his own house to see his sick child, was apprehended by Major Oglethorp, and carried to Morpeth jail, and notice fent to the Court. He had been obliged to retire into the north of England, where he preached with great fuccess, and met with many remarkable escapes

fince the year 1671.

J. Lawson a boy.

On the 23d, James Lawson, a boy of fourteen years of age, who had been imprisoned for being at Conventicles (for under this bleffed administration no age was thought too young to be attacked) was, after some weeks confinement, fet at liberty, the Counfellors being

justly ashamed of such severity to a child.

Proclamaagainst Papists.

The fame day, the Council published a large proclamation against Papists, but, like all other proclamations of this nature, no care was taken by the Bishops or Judges to profecute them; only G. Young, a popish Priest, was, by order of the Council, this day fent to the Bass. At the fame sederunt, the Bishop of Galloway obtained the

King's dispensation for non-residence.

Mr. Veitch.

On the 31st, the King's letter of the 25th was read in Council, ordering them to receive upon the Borders Mr. Veitch, then prisoner at Morpeth, and confine him to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and proceed against him with all diligence, according to the utmost severity of He was accordingly brought in prisoner to Edinburgb.

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### Chap. 1. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

When such oppressive measures were taken, it was a 1679. pity, that any thing should have happened to divide the Presbyterians among themselves; but the indulgence be- Separa. ing accepted by fome, and refused by others, as incon-the infiftent with their principles, they who had refused to dulged comply with it, looked upon it as their duty to bear their testimony against it. And several at this time began, more than was formerly done, to preach up separation from the indulged. And indeed no attempts were able to reconcile many of these people, to those who had given into fuch a course of defection, as they justly looked upon the indulgence to be. Nay, confiderable numbers broke off from the indulged. And, however, fome may condemn their conduct, yet they, no doubt, acted confistent with their principles. Nevertheless, some vacant parishes privately called presbyterian Ministers to settle among them, as Mr. Matth. Crawford to Eastwood, and Mr. Neil Gillies to Greenock.

On the 6th of February, the Council ordered the Ma-Schoolgistrates of Edinburgh and other Patrons to turn the fol-masters, lowing persons out of their charges (page 1, 2) unless they &c. turned took the oaths on or before the first of March next, viz. Mr. Alex. Dickson, Professor of Hebrew in the College of Edinburgh, Mr. Alex. Herriot Master of the High-School of Edinburgh, Mr. Geo. Sinclair Schoolmaster in South-Leith, and Mr. Geo. Allan his Affiftant, Mr. Alex. Strang Schoolmaster in the Canongate, and Mr. John Govan his affiftant, together with Mr. Jam. Scot, junr. the Bishop of Edinburgh having given information, that those persons had not conformed: but notwithstanding this, feveral, if not all, chose rather to undergo a course of suffering, than comply. The same day, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart was sent from Dumbarton to Stirling Castle. And out of their great goodness they allowed his Lady to be in the room with him.

The fame day, a proclamation was iffued, offering a Proclama. reward of nine thousand merks to any who should ap-tion prehend Mr. John Welsh, and three thousand merks to Mr. any who should apprehend Mr. Gabriel Semple or Mr. Welsh. Sam. Arnot, two thousand merks for every Field-preacher &c. declared fugitive, or intercommuned, and nine hundred

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1679. merks for every other vagrant Field-preacher. How frange was it, that they, who called themselves protestant Bishops, should thus persecute and harrass the greatest enemies to Popery in the nation, while, in the mean time, feveral popish Priests and Jesuits were now fent down from England!

New

To execute these and other laws of the same nature, powers to the new levied forces were ordered west, at the partithe forces. cular defire of the Prelates, some of them to lie at Glasgow, in order to prevent the preaching of the gospel in private houses, or the adjacent fields; and on the 13th of February, the army was dispersed through the southern and western shires, in the best manner they could, for fuppressing Field-assemblies. And the Council, the better to accomplish their wicked designs, ordered the Officers and Soldiers, when ever they faw any number of people together in the fields, to apprehend them, until they gave bend, and obliged themselves, under certain penalties, to live orderly, keep their Parish Churches, and not go afterwards to Conventicles, &c. The fame day, the Council ordered the Committee for publick affairs, to nominate a few of their number to be a Secret Committee, with power to order whom they pleafed to be apprehended.

Mr. Simfon.

Two days after this, Mr. Patrick Simpson, the indulged Minister at Kilmarnock was ordered to be denounced for not appearing to his fummons. But it would feem, he gave a necessary excuse; for he continued in the peaceable exercise of his ministry at that place several years after this.

Other Sufferers for Conventicles, &c.

On the 18th, the Magistrates of Glasgow were ordered by the Council to turn Mrs. Blackwel out of her house, and take possession of it. Her husband, Mr. T. Blackwel (p. 403.) had been declared fugitive. The same day, Mr. John Wallace, the indulged Minister at Largs, was called before the Council; but though no proof could be brought against him, yet, because he was was not free to answer one of their ensnaring questions, they declared his indulgence void. At the same time, the parishioners of Balmaclellan were discharged from paying any more stipend to Mr. Warner (p.2.) till further orders.

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. Chap. I.

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The same day, Gordon of Earlstown, Gordon of 1679: orders. Holm, Gordon of Overbar, Neilson of Corsack, Geo. Macartney of Blaiket, Maxwel of Hills, Hay of Park, Macdougal of Freuch, Mackdougal of Corrochtree, James Johnfoun late Provost of Stranrawer, William Spittle at Port, -Johnston Collector there, Mr. William Cathcart and John Inglish Commissary of Kirkcudbright, being summoned to answer for Conventicles and harbouring intercommuned persons; and not appearing, were all ordered to be declared rebels and outlawed.

Two days after, William Page was fined in a thousand Some fined, pounds Scots, John Arnot in Greentide in five hundred merks, and Gea. Marshal in Balvaird in a hundred pounds Scots for being at Field-conventicles; and they were or-

dered to lie in prison, till they paid their fine.

On the 22d, Mr. Veitch was before the Committee Mr. for publick affairs. Sharp prefided, and put many en- Veitch fnaring questions to him; in which he was seconded by examined. the Bishop of Edinburgh; such as, Have you taken the COVENANT? He replied, This honourable board may perceive, that I was not of age to take the COVENANT, when you and other Ministers of Scotland tendered it. fhort, he figned his examination; but there was nothing found to militate against him; and yet they gave it as their opinion, that he should be sent to the Bass, till the King's pleasure be known, because he was forfeited for what they called the rebellion in 1666. And when the Council fat on the 25th, they approved of the judgment of their Committee.

On the 25th of February, John Inglis was turned out John Infrom being Commissary of Kirkeudbright, but was after-glis. wards remitted to the Bishop of Galloway to be reponed, as he law caule.

The army being to march at this time, the Council Pat. Glass. ordered them to be furnished with ammunition; and the fame day appointed some who attended the session-house as Agents, who were suspected to correspond with the cutlawed Ministers and others, to be called before their Committee, and give fecurity for their good behaviour for the future, or take the oath of allegiance, or else be banished the town of Edinburgh. They likewise ordered

Pat.

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1678. Pat. Glass, who had been prisoner these four years past. to be fet at liberty, on his paying two hundred pounds of the fine imposed upon him; and that the Townmajor have fifty-eight pound sterling for taking Mr. Mosman, whom they called a vagrant Preacher.

> On the 27th, they ordered a letter of thanks to be wrote to the Earl of Seaforth, for his diligence in sup-

pressing Conventicles, in the most northern parts.

Mr. James Dalrymple, kc,

The same day, Mr. Sam. Nairn, brother to the Laird of Sanford, Mr. Jam. Rymer in Pitlochie, Jam. Thompson, - Miller, Will. Beltie, Tho. Nefs, Jam. Nefs, Joh. Wisheart, and Dav. Heady, were summoned before the Council for Conventicles, and not appearing, were denounced and put to the horn. The fame day, Mr. James Dalrymple, who had been ordained by presbyterian Ministers, was informed against, for preaching in the fields and in private houses in Edinburgh, particularly in the house of one James Fea. This James Fea, and other of the hearers, were fined in a hundred merks each, and the process continued against Mr. Dalrymple.

In order to profecute the overtures mentioned, p. 2, 3, the Council, on the 27th of February, agreed upon a lift of Commissioners, to execute the laws against the protestant Nonconformists, gave them instructions to use the utmost rigour, and named deputies in the several shires, each cloathed with the power of a Justice of Peace, who had an army to affift and support them. The curious reader may fee the lifts and their instructions at large in Wodrow, being too long to be inferted

here, vol. II. p. 14.

Outrages

About the beginning of March, the forces were of Soldiers. fettled in the particular places affigned them, with orders to pursue and search for those who frequented Fieldmeetings, to kill all who refifted them, to imprison and deliver to Magistrates, or send in to the Council, all whom they apprehended. A party of these military Reformers feized about twenty-three countrymen in the parish of Evandale, several of whom were poor Shepherds, and made them fwear, whether they faw any armed men going up and down for a month past. It would be endless to mention all their outrages, how they destroyed the corn with their horses, threw what they could not 1679. use into the rivers in some places, and burnt it in others; so that the laws then in being, during this mild administration, were wholly subversive of the liberties and properties of the subject. These were the happy fruits of

Prelacy in Scotland!

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VOL. II.

Lord Ross and other Officers of the army made a Searches ftrict fearch through the West and South, for intercom-for internarrowly escaped and were put to no Goall different persons, narrowly escaped, and were put to no small difficulties, &c. in wandering from place to place to conceal themselves from their cruel enemies. However, at this fearch, there were only two taken, viz. Mr. Archibald Maclean, a worthy old Minister, who was so infirm, that he could not get out of the way; and Mr. William Kyle, who, after the Revolution, was a Minister in Galloway. They left off fearching for a few days, in hopes of furprizing the Nonconformifts. Accordingly, all of a fudden, the fearch was renewed, and Mr. John Law (vol. i. p. 399) was taken in a house belonging to the Laird of Kincaid. And fuch was the cruelty of these men, that though he offered all manner of fecurity to furrender at pleafure, his wife being at the point of death, yet they were deaf to all he could fay, hurried him to Edinburgh, and from thence to the Bass: and while on the road thither, he was never fuffered to be alone, to commend either himself or his dying spouse to God. About this time, there was a strict search made in Edinburgh, where Mr. Geo. Barclay (after the Revolution Minister at Upball) was apprehended and put into the Guardhouse. However, he got out of a window, and made his escape: but afterwards endured many trials and prefervations, fometimes in foreign countries, fometimes in the North of England, and sometimes in Scotland. Mr. Robert Ross and Mr. James Macaulay were taken at Leith, and fent to the Bass.

While these things were transacting, Dame Margaret Lady Stuart and her husband, Sir William Fleming of Ferm, Ferm. were brought before the Council on the fourth of March. This Lady was accused of being at several Conventicles,

" to

1678. and owning the charge, Sir William was fined in four thousand merks.

English affairs. Burnet.

Rapin.

But as the English Parliament sat down on the fixth of March, I must take a view of some things on the fouth of the Tweed. The King had dissolved his last Parliament, in hopes to obtain a more pliable House of Commons. But the elections were carried with great heat, and went every where almost against the Court; for the people being discontented, and full of suspicions and fears, chose Representatives the most averse to Popery and arbitrary Government. The King, to suppress these suspicions, affected an extraordinary severity against the Papilts; but this was too frequent an artifice, to be capable of persuading the people, that his Majesty was truly zealous for the protestant religion.

The D. of abroad.

Burnet.

P. 452.

CHARLES, when the time for the meeting of the Par-York fent liament drew near, perceiving a storm gathering against the Duke of York, by the advice of the Earl of Danby, thought proper to fend him abroad. " Before he went away, the King gave him all possible fatisfaction, with relation to the Duke of Monmouth, who was then become very popular, several giving it out, that he was the King's lawful fon. But his Majesty made a solemn declaration in Council, and both figned it and took his oath on it, that he was never married nor contracted to that Duke's mother, nor to any other woman, except to his present queen. The Duke of York went first to Holland, and then to Bruffels, where he met but with a cold reception." However, he had this to confort him. that the King had given him affurance, that he never would confent to any thing in prejudice of his right of fuccession.

Shaftfbury's Speech.

There was, at this time, a great opposition to the Duke of Lauderdale, and the administration of affairs in Scotland, as very much favouring popils designs. The Earl of Shaftsbury had a very remarkable speech in the house of Lords; in which, among other things, he faid, Popery and Slavery, like two fifters, go hand in " hand. In England, Popery was to bring in Slavery, in Scotland, Slavery was to go before, and Popery was

" to follow. I do not think, that your Lordships or 1679. " the Parliament have jurisdiction there. It is a noble " and antient Kingdom. They have an illustrious No-" bility, a gallant Gentry, &c. But yet, we cannot think on England, as we ought, without reflecting on the condition they are in. They are under the same " Prince, and the influence of the same favourite and counfels, and are bardly dealt with. Can we, that are "the richer, expect better usage? for it is certain, that " in all absolute governments, the poorest countries are " most favourably dealt with, when the antient Nobi-" lity and Gentry cannot enjoy their royalties.—— If " the council-table there can imprison any Nobleman or "Gentleman for feveral years, without bringing him to " a trial, or giving the least reason for what they do; " can we expect the same will ever preserve the liber-" ties of the subjects here ?- They have lately plun-" dered the richest and best countries of that kingdom. " by having brought down the barbarous Highlanders to " devour them; and all this without any colourable or pretence; nor can there be found out a reason of state " for what they have done, but that their wicked Mi-" nisters designed to procure a REBELLION at any " rate; which, as they managed it, was only prevented " by the miraculous hand of God. — My Lords, I am " forced to speak this the plainer, because, till the pres-" fure be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland, it is " not possible for me, or any thinking man, to believe, " that good is meant us here," &c.

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The House of Commons being justly apprehensive of Bill of exthe danger the nation was in from the increase of Popery, cluston. the encouragement the Papists secretly received, and, Rapin. above all, from the Duke of York, who, by the afferters of the liberties of England, was looked upon as being at the bottom of all the male-administrations they wanted to get rid of prepared a bill for excluding the Duke from succeeding to the imperial crown of England, and bringing in the next protestant heir. This bill was twice read in the house, and ordered to be committed by 207 against 128. But his Majetty, not relishing these proceedings, prorogued the Parliament till the 14th of

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1679. August; by which means, the exclusion-bill was defeated for a time. Thus we see, what a brave stand these English Patriots made at this time for their religion and liberties. They well knew, and the whole nation afterwards found, how inconsistent a popish Prince over a protestant people was, for securing either the liberties of the subject, or the protestant religion. But it is now time to return to the affairs of Scotland.

Mr. Veitch. On the 11th of March, the Council wrote to Lauder-dale concerning Mr. Veitch, to know his Majesty's pleafure, especially since, as they declared, he was not found in any crime, and offered to prove, that he was in Edinburgh at the time of Pentland. Mean while, they ordered him to the Bass. About this time Adam Urqu-

Meldrum. bart of Meldrum, having fignalized himself against the sufferers, was made a Justice of Peace in the shire of Roxburgh, and afterward in Teviotdale and the Merse, and

in the shire of Selkirk.

Major Johnston. beat.

On the same day the Council wrote to Lauderdale, "That eighteen or twenty armed men, prompted by "the bloody principles of their traiterous books, fent " for Major Johnston to the house of one Mrs. Craw-" ford, a known and most irregular Fanatick; and at " his entry discharged several shots at him, and those he " had with him; after which, with drawn fwords, they " beat, bruifed, and threatened to kill him, if he would " not swear never to dissipate Conventicles; which he " having refused, according to his duty, they mortally "wounded him, and some that were with him." But, however the matter might have been thus represented to them, yet it was aggravated beyond the truth. The case was, that two or three persons, whom the Major bore hard upon for their nonconformity, in order to have a little revenge, got some to give him notice of a meeting where they were to be; and when he went thither, heartily drubb'd him; but there was nothing like mortal wounds. However, this was looked upon as a high crime and misdemeanour; and a proclamation was isfued for apprehending the guilty, and a handle made to profecute the innocent; for the fame day they made an act, ordering lifts to be given in to the Magistrates of all 1.

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ll ne the lodgers in Edinburgh every night, and that the wives and families of all outed Ministers be turned out of the town by the 21st of March. This was strange justice! Nay, they enacted farther, that all persons, who were summoned, shall, in case of not appearing, be reputed guilty and fined.

On the 18th of March, the above mentioned Mr. Mr. Veitch was ordered to be prosecuted before the Lords of Veitch. Justiciary on the 24th; at which time, he was brought to the bar, and prayed that he might be allowed Advocates to plead for him, and that his case might be laid before his Majesty. The Lords, not being willing to pass sentence of death upon a forfeiture in absence thirteen years ago, as some would have had them, postponed the matter till the eighth of April; and when they met then, they farther delayed it till June, and from that to July, when we shall meet with him again. Mean while,

On the 30th, there was a large meeting at Cumber-Convenbead near Lanerk. A party was fent to disperse it; but cicles near understanding their strength, they contented themselves with risling some women, as they went, of their plaids and bibles and seizing some men. Upon this a considerable body went from the meeting in Arms, and demanded the prisoners. The Officer refusing to comply, a scusse happened, wherein the commander was wounded, and some taken prisoners, whom they very soon released. This occasioned the adjacent country to be much harrassed for several weeks.

In the mean time on the 2d of April, the Council Landlords being informed of Conventicles in Edinburgh, refolved to profecuted. profecute the Landlords of those houses, where they were held. Accordingly, one George Turnbul, a Baker, was fined in three hundred pounds Scots, because of three Conventicles said to be kept in the chamber of one Isabel Crawford, one of his tenants. At the same sederunt, Gentlemen Gordon of Craichlaw younger and his spouse, Gordon of and Endies Colvennan, Macghie of Drumbuy, Ramsay of Bogbouse, loway Dame —— Stuart Lady Castlestuart, Macghie Laird of denounced. Larg, Heron of Littlepark, Dunbar younger of Machienmore, Arch. Stuart of Causeyend, Ant. Heron in Wigg and his spouse, Stuart of Tondergie, Macghie in Penningbam, Macmillan

his Lady, together with —— Provost of Wigtoun, were fummoned for nonconformity, and not appearing, were denounced and put to the horn. And it is observable, that the episcopal incumbents sent lists of such persons as these to Edinburgh, urging the Council to prosecute them; so that great numbers were denounced in absence. These severe proceedings obliged many to wander from place to place, and therefore no wonder, though they embraced the first opportunity to relieve themselves from these unjust oppressions.

Proceedings of the Council.

The accounts of the scuffle in Lanerk on the 30th last, came to the Council on the third of April, aggravating the matter to the last degree. Upon which, they ordered preparations to be made for sending Soldiers to those parts. The same day, they appointed William Carmichael Sherissf-deputy of Fife, to proceed against the Nonconformists of Fise. His violent oppressions were such, that several were provoked to resolve to cut him off; but missing him, they fell upon the Archchbishop of St. Andrews, as we shall hear. At the same time, orders were given to all the Sherissf-deputies of Fise to call before them those who were concerned in rescuing Mr. Walter Denoon from a party, that was carrying him to Edinburgh.

Argyle's Commif-

Next day, a Committee was appointed to examine into the affair of the scuffle in Lanerk; and the Earl of Argyle had his Majesty's thanks for securing the peace of the Highlands: and on the 12th, a commission was granted to his Lordship to use his utmost endeavour to disarm the Papists there, particularly Lord Mackdonald, Keppoch, Maclean of Torlaish, Maclean of Ardgoner, and Maclean of Berlois, or others suspected of Popery.

Two Soldiers killed.

On the 25th, the Committee appointed to examine into the affair of Lanerk, met there; but upon their most strict enquiry could find nothing, but what has been related; only in their report, which was given in to the Council, they mentioned the murder of two Soldiers near Newmills, which was charged unjustly upon the suffering party. The actors were not known; only there was great reason to suspect one John Scarlet, a

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person of a most infamous character. I shall not trouble 1679. The reader with the circumstances of this murder. The fact was certain, and the Noblemen, Heritors and Gentlemen of the shire of Air, where it was committed, met on the 28th, and sent in a letter to the Council, signifying their abhorrence of it, and their dissatisfaction with armed Conventicles, and with some of the doctrines preached at them.

The reader has feen, that it was necessity and the great State of law of felf-preservation, that obliged people to go armed Fieldto those meetings for their better security against the meetings. Soldiers, who were fent to disperse them. And as they looked upon the indulgence, as inconfistent with presbyterian principles, and the cess as an unlawful tax, imposed with no other design than to suppress the meetings of the Lord's people for publick worship, and perfecute those, who could not, in conscience, comply with Prelacy; so it is not to be wondered, though they warned their hearers against complying with these things. How far they may have exceeded, I cannot determine. No doubt, had they observed the rules of carnal prudence, they would both have defifted from meeting together, or, if they did meet, have been altogether filent as to these things. But what could be expected from men, who made conscience of their principles, and, on that very account, were made to fuffer all manner of hardships, but that they would bear a testimony against every method taken by their perfecutors to overturn their civil and religious liberties, and that they would use their utmost to defend themselves? Accordingly, finding that fmall meetings were more exposed to danger than larger assemblies, they therefore altered their method, and determined to confine themselves to one meeting, and that in fuch places, which they thought flood in most need of the Gospel, and where they might affemble and preach with greater fafety. It is true, many ferious and good people, Ministers as well as others, did not chuse to take these methods. Mr. Wellh, &c. preached in those places, where there were but few, that came armed. Now in this fituation matters continued as to Field-meetings from December till May.

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1679. Mr. Welwood. P. Walker, p.

In the beginning of April, the worthy Mr. James Welwood, brother to Mr. Andrew, Author of a Treatife, intitled, The Glimpse of Glory, died at Perth, in the 30th year of his age. He was a very extraordinary person, The night after he died, his corps were removed from 34,36,&c. John Barclay's house into a private room belonging to one Jannet Hutton, till his friends might confult about his funeral, that John Barclay might not come to trouble for concealing him. It was quickly spread abroad, that an intercommuned Preacher was dead in the town; upon which the Magistrates ordered a Messenger to go and arrest the corps; and would not suffer them to be interred at Perth; but ordered the town Militia to be raised, and imprisoned John Price, Box-master or Treafurer to the Gildry, for refusing to give out the militia However, the Magistrates allowed his friends to carry the corps out of the town, and bury them where they pleased without their precincts; but any of the town's people, who were observed to accompany the funeral, were apprehended and committed to prison. At last, the corps were interred, with difficulty, in the churchvard of Drone; for his friends were obliged to get over the church-yard wall and dig the grave, because Mr. Pitcairn, one of the old Resolutioners, refused to give them the keys. This is a lasting evidence of the tyranny of the managers in this period, who would neither fuffer the perfecuted people to be at peace when alive. nor to be buried when dead.

Linlithgow impowered.

On the 1st of May, the Council being alarmed with the accounts they received concerning the perfons, who attended the Field-meetings in arms, gave authority to the Earl of Lirithgow, to order a party of horse, foot and dragoons to pursue Messrs. Welsh, Cameron, Kid or Douglass, and their followers, to seize and apprehend all, who attend their Conventicles; and, in case of resistance, to pursue them to the death. The execution of these orders occasioned the rising, that fell out next month, as we shall relate.

Inchdarnie killed.

On the third, while a party of horse was riding furioully to Coupar of Fife, Andrew Ayton, younger, of Inchdarnie, going to his aunt's, the Lady Murdocairnie,

perceived

perceived them, and rode hard to escape. One of them 1679. observing this, broke from the rest by order of the Commander, and, without asking any questions, fired at the young Gentleman, and mortally wounded him; for two balls went through his body. Such was the cruelty of this party, that though his relation Sir John Ayton, sent to Cowpar for a Surgeon, they ordered, that no Surgeon should leave the town without permission; nay, they fent some of their number to bring him that night to Cowpar. On the way he fainted four times through the effusion of blood. The Magistrates suffered him to be carried to an inn, where he died next morning, and heartily forgave the Soldier, by whom he was mortally wounded. This pious youth was but eighteen years of P. Walage, and had, for fome time, been intercommuned. ker, p. 35. When he went with others to visit Mr. James Welwood on his death-bed, and gave him an account of the tyranny and wickedness of Sharp, Mr. Welwood said, You'll shortly be quit of him, and he'll get a sudden and sharp offgoing, and ye will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven; which came literally to pass.

For on this 3d of May, Mr. James Sharp, Arch-The Arch-bishop of St. Andrews came to this untimely end. There bishop's were several accounts given of this remarkable event. It will be sufficient to my present purpose to lay before the reader the substance of what was published by the authority of the Council, taken from the Bishop's daughter and the servants, who were present, and the substance of those given by the actors concerned; by which means, he will have the narrative of both sides. The substance of what was published by authority, is as

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"On the 3d of May—this excellent PRELATE,—The ac"about nine o'clock in the morning, took his coach in count of it
"Kennoway—accompanied only with four of his fer-ed by au"vants, and his eldest daughter in the coach with him. thority.

"About half an hour before he was attacked, his great

" foul, it feems, presaging what came to pass, he fell on a most pious and serious discourse to his daughter, giv-

"ing her fuch pious inftructions and directions, as he would have done, if upon his death-bed; whereunto she Vol. II. D "gave

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ee gave fuch becoming and fatisfactory answers, that he embraced and formally bleffed her. Afterwards comse ing near to a farmers house called Magus, he says, "There lives an ill-natured man, God preserve us, my se Child. Within a very little time after, the Coachse man, perceiving some horsemen on the spur after 45 them, calls to the Postillion to drive on, for those " men had no good in their minds. My Lord finding se the coach run so hard, looked out to see what the " matter was; and then perceiving armed men purfuing, he turning to his daughter, faid, Lord bave " mercy upon me, my poor child, for I am gone, Upon which presently three or four of the ruffians " fired at the coach, but touched neither of them in 55 the coach. The Coachman put faster on, and out-" run the most part of the rogues (my Lord's own fervants, of which the best armed was wounded in the " head by a fword, being mounted on weak hackney horses, had fallen behind before this, and were difse armed at the first coming up) while at last one of so the best mounted overhighed the Postilion, and by wounding him on the face, shooting the coach horse which he led, in the back, and cutting him in the " hams, turned the coach out of the way, and gave " the rest the advantage to come up. Then they fired " again: one of them had his pittol so near my Lord, that the burning calfing was left on his gown, and was rubbed off by his daughter, which wounded him " two or three inches below the right clavicle, in be-" twixt the fecond and third rib; and then another of \* them, on the other fide of the coach, run him upon " the region of the kidneys, with a finall fword; there-44 after they called, Come out, cruel and bloody Traitor; " but not any offered to lay hands upon, or drag him out of his coach, as is falfly reported in the Relation, " the Affaffinates being all yet on horseback; where-" upon, most composedly, he opened the door of the " coach himself, and stept out; and then said, Gentlemen, you will spare my life, and whatever else you are so pleased to do, you shall never be questioned for it. They st told him there was no mercy for a Judas, an enemy II.

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ney my and " and a traitor to the cause of Christ. Well then, said 1679. he, I shall expect none from you; but promise to me to " spare my poor child, directing his speech to one, whom " it is suspected, by looking him broad in the face, he "knew; and reaching forth his hand to him, the " bloody villain starts back from my Lord, and, by a " mighty blow, cut him more than half through the " wrist. Then said my Lord, I hope you will give me " some time to pour out my soul to God, and I shall also " pray for you; and presently falling on his knees, he " faid, Lord forgive them, for I do. Lord receive my " spirit. While thus praying on his knees (one of the " traitors, standing some paces off, called to the rest, " Spare those gray bairs) and his hands lifted up, they " ftruck furiously at him, and wounding him therein in "three places, which nevertheless he kept up bleeding " to heaven, while one of them cut him to the very " bone, a little above the left eye; whereupon my " Lord faid, Now you have done the turn; then falling " forward, he stretched himself out, and laid his head " on his arm, as if he had been to compole himself for " fleep, when some of the villains from their horses, " and others a foot (having alighted) gave him about "fifteen or fixteen wounds in the head; and, in effect, "the whole occipital part was but one wound; after " which, they riffled his pockets, and took some papers " out of them; and fo mad was their spite and rage, "that even after he was dead, and the murderers gone " fome way from the body, one of the furious and " bloody affaffins returned, and thrust twice or thrice " at him with a fword. They robbed his daughter of " fome gold, and other things she had in a little box " (they had wounded her, thrusting at her father, be-" twixt whom and them she had interposed herself, by " a stab in her thigh and one of her thumbs) then they " took away my Lord's night-bag, &c. They also rob-" bed his fervants, and took their arms from them; " and then went away as they came. - Thus fell

" that excellent Prelate,"-

The reader will now expect the account of this 1679. matter from the papers and relations of the actors concerned.

Carmichael's eruelty.

During the last and current year, the perfecution was most severe in the county of Fife, and particularly William Carmichael (p. 14.) was impowered to feek for and profecute all Nonconformists and intercommuned persons in that shire. Besides his apprehending, fining and imprisoning multitudes, it was his custom to seize servants, and put fiery matches between their fingers, together with feveral other methods of torture, in order to force them to discover where their masters were, or any thing belonging to them. He would likewise beat women and children, to make them inform against their husbands and parents, not to mention rapes, adulteries, and other instances of abominable wickedness.

Resoluwanderers.

As the fuffering people had no legal way of redrefs, tion of the several of the wanderers of this shire being deprived of the protection of the laws of their country, refolved to get rid of Carmichael; and, for this purpose, fixed on Saturday the third of May, when, as they were informed, he was to be a hunting. Accordingly, about nine of these persons, some of them being Gentlemen of good families, upon the day appointed, fearched for him through all the country round Cowpar, but to no

They refolve to kill the Archbishop.

purpole. While they were talking of separating and quitting their project, they were informed by a boy, that the ARCHBISHOP's coach was at Ceres, and in a little would come that way. This much furprized them, that, when they were just parting and giving over their fearch for the fervant, the mafter should come in the way, even their arch enemy and source of all their miseries. Upon which one of them said, It seems he is delivered into our bands, and proposed to embrace this opportunity for cutting him off. Mr. Hackstown of Ratbillet opposed the motion, as being a matter of blood, and told them, upon feeing them resolute, that he was not quite clear in his own mind. Then it was proposed that one should have the command. Mr. Hackstoun absolutely declined the fervice.

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By this time, they were come to a little village cal- 1679. led Magus, where they discovered the Bishop's coach. One of them, on a swift horse, rode up to see if Sharp They stope was in it. The Bishop observing him, cried out to the bis coach. coachman to drive on. The Gentleman hearing this threw off his cloak and purfued at full speed, as likewife did the rest, only Mr. Ratbillet kept at a distance, and did not at all engage in the action. While they were thus pursuing in Magus-Muir, Wallace, one of the Bishop's servants turned upon them and cock'd his piece, but two of them coming up, foon difmounted and difarmed him; and as the coach was driving furioully away, they fired their mulquets, but could not ftop it, till the person on the swift horse came up to the coach, crying out, Judas, be taken. The Primate called with the greater violence, Drive, drive, drive; but at last, they cut the traces of the coach and stopt it.

By this time, the rest were come up, and found the The dif-Bishop's daughter with him in the coach, and therefore course the Captain ordered him to come out, that no harm that past. might come to her, whom they had no intention to hurt. This he refused; whereupon two of them, the rest being engaged in dismounting and securing his fervants, fired upon the Bishop, while his daughter was thricking and crying most bitterly. But finding that he was not touched, the Captain commanded him to come out; and while the Bishop lingred and cried for mercy, the Commander faid, "I take God to witness, whose " cause I desire to own in adhering to the persecuted gospel, that it is not out of any hatred of your per-" fon, nor from any prejudice you have done or could " have done to me, that I intend now to take your " life, but because you have been, and still continue to " be an avowed opposer of the gospel and kingdom of " Christ, and a murderer of his Saints, whose blood " you have shed like water." Another said, "Repent, " Judas, and come out." The Bishop replied, "Gentle-"men, fave my life, and I will fave yours." The first " answered, " I know it is not in your power to save " us or to kill us: I again declare, it is not any parti-" cular

1679.

" cular feud or quarrel I have at you, which moves me " to this attempt, but because you are an enemy to " Christ and his interest, and have wrung your hands in " the blood of his Saints, not only after Pentland, but " feveral times fince; and particularly for your perjury " and shedding the blood of Mr. James Mitchel, and " having a hand in the death of James Learmont, and " your perfidious betraying of the Church of Scotland. "These crimes, added be, and that blood, cry with a " loud voice to Heaven for vengeance, and we are " this day to execute it." And again he ordered him to come out and prepare for death, judgment and eternity. The Bishop still refused, and cried for mercy, and offered him money. The Captain faid, Thy money perish with thee, and told him, he allowed him time to pray; and commanded him again to come out. The Bishop still refused. One of them at a distance cried out, "Seeing there have been fo many lives unjustly taken " by him, for which there is not the least fign of re-" pentance, we will not be innocent, if any more be " taken that way."

He came out of the coach.

Then one of them fired a pistol at him in the coach, which did not touch him; and another wounded him with a sword; at which he cried out, Fy, fy, I am gone: but the wound was not mortal. At last, when he found they would force him out of the coach, he thought proper to come out. But by no means could they persuade him to pray, which much surprized them. Then they discharged a shower of shot upon him, which made him fall back, so that he lay as dead.

is killed.

But one of them giving him a prick with his sword, he raised himself; then being apprehensive that shooting would not do, the Commander ordered them all to draw their swords; upon which he made the most hideous and terrible shrieks that ever were heard. At last, the Commander struck him with a shabble on the face, and one of his chops fell down. He tried to speak, but was not understood. They redoubled their strokes, and killed him outright. But they took nothing with them but arms and papers; and after dismounting and disarming his servants, they rode away in a body to a place

place three or four miles from Magus-muir, and con- 1679. tinued till night, when they separated and shifted for themselves the best way they could. When they resected on what they had done, they were much furprized at their own preservation, fince the whole was transacted between twelve and one at mid-day.

Thus fell Archbishop Sharp, and the reader will ob- Remarks.

ferve, that the main difference between the two accounts I have given consists in the Bishop's carriage; the former represents him as a Saint, and the latter as averse to any thing like preparation for death. But which of the two is most consistent with the carriage and behaviour of this Prelate through the former course of his life, must be left with the reader. This matter is most unjustly charged on the whole body of the Presbyterians; nay, the actors themselves had no thoughts of making any attempt upon him, till, miffing Carmichael, his coach

came in their way.

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It is faid, that the Bishop had several notices, that he would come to an untimely end, as his having a remarkable dream to this purpose, while at the University. But I shall not trouble the reader with these things. The action was much condemned; it was faid, that let the Bishop have been ever so bad, yet the actors had no right to purfue him to death; for none of them had the power of the fword, nor were in any publick judicative capacity, and confequently what they did was murder and affaffination. On the other hand, it was faid, that as the Archbishop was a murderer and avowed persecutor of God's people, an apostate from, and a betrayer of the cause of Christ, and as it was not possible to have recourse to the Magistrate for justice, the constitution of the government being overturned, the actors could not therefore be charged with murder, nor the action be efteemed any other, but an extraordinary execution of the law of God against such a capital offender. Besides, they looked upon themselves as in a state of war, and consequently as having a right to cut off their great enemy, by whom they and others were persecuted to the death. An ingenious Author has these words in Gordonon Tacitus, his political discourses, " Casar had violated every tye wol. i. p.

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" that can bind the human foul; oaths, trust, and law: 1679. " he had violated every thing dear to human kind, " their peace, liberty, rights and possessions. He did all " this by means the most black and flagitious; by plots, faction, corruption, robbery, devastation, facrilege and " flaughter. What was left to the oppressed Romans to "do, under the bonds of the Oppressor, with his sword " at their throat? Law and appeals were no more; " a tyrant was their master, the will of a tyrant, their 15 law. In short, there was no other way of abolish-"ing his tyranny, but by dispatching the tyrant?" But I leave these things with the reader; only it is obvious, that, whether the actors were right or wrong, he met with the just reward of his deeds, and God was righteous in the providence. By his death, new defigns of cruelty were prevented; for the last thing he did, was his voting for and pushing a violent proclamation we shall hear of, dated the first of May; and on the fixth he was to have gone to Court to use his utmost for more rigorous and cruel methods of oppression against

None of the real afters opprebended

It likewise deserves a remark, that, after the most diligent and exact search, none were ever apprehended, that were actually concerned. They who were executed on this account on Magus-muir afterwards were no ways accessary. Mr. Hackstoun of Rathillet was indeed present, and afterwards taken and put to death; but we have heard how he behaved. One Andrew Guillan was likewise present, and afterwards executed; but all the hand he had, was, that living near the place, he was taken out of his house, held their horses, and was a witness to what was done.

the fufferers; but my Author justly remarks, that as Saul, when breathing out cruelty against the Christians, was converted, so this Apostate went to his own place.

who killed the Bishop?

Though this violent death of the Archbishop was made by a few private persons, and by them too without any premeditated design, till they had information of his coach's coming that way; yet, as has been observed, it was unjustly laid to the charge of the whole body of the Presbyterians, and particularly represented as one of the dismal effects of Field-meetings, these rendezvouses of rebellion.

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rebellion, as they were called. But had they put the faddle on the right horse, if the Archbishop's death was murder, they should have looked upon themselves as the murderers, in supporting that perfidious Prelate in those arbitrary measures, whereby the spirits of the people were justly exasperated, and they constrained, in their own necessary defence, to do what they did. But the Managers never thought of those things, but made use of this as a handle for farther unheard-of feverities.

Accordingly, when the news of this affair reached Procla-Edinburgh, the Council met on the Sabbath, the fourth mation for of May, and, after taking the depositions of the Bi- apprehendshop's servants, they published a long proclamation for killers. discovering and apprehending the persons concerned in this action; in which, after having displayed all their rhetorick in exposing the cruelty of the fact, they, among other things, ordered all persons in the shire of Fife, upon certain days, to meet at fuch places, all mentioned in the proclamation, in order to be confronted by the witnesses; and secured all who were under letters of horning or intercommuning, from all danger of being apprehended for the space of forty-eight hours, before and after the times appointed for their appearance; at the same time certifying, that whoever should not appear, should be reputed either guilty or accessory. They likewise offered an indemnity to any of the affasfins, who should discover their accomplices, and a reward of ten thousand merks to any, who should inform who the affaffins were, to be paid upon their being apprehended or convicted. At the same time they wrote to the King and Lauderdale, giving an account of thefe things. I shall make no remarks here, since all this is nothing but what might have been expected: but one would think they took a very improper method; for can any imagine, that any concerned in this fact, would ever appear at any of those meetings appointed in the proclamation?

On the same day, about thirty persons were hear-Mr. Haing Mr. William Hamilton at the house of Mrs. milton's Durham his relation. They were all seized, and imme-sufferings. diately committed to prison, where some continued a

VOL. II. longer,

1679. longer, and fome a shorter time. Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Carstairs were released after a few days; but the Managers were most cruel to the Preacher; for though he was feized with a flux, and presented a petition attested by two Physicians, that his life was in hazard. praying that he might, for a little, have the benefit of the air, and offered any bail that could be defired, yet they rejected the petition, and affured his friends, they would profecute him for House-conventicles next Councilday; but before that time he died in prison, and faved them the trouble. This excellent-pious youth was brother to the Laird of Halcraig, was no intercommuned person; nothing was ever laid to his charge, unless his preaching once in a relation's house to a few friends after publick worship was over. For this Conventicle the Magistrates of Edinburgh were fined according to the Laws of this period.

G. Arferings.

Besides this instance of severity, to a person who cher's fuf-could have no accession to the Bishop's death, valt numbers were exceedingly harraffed in Fife and other places, particularly John Archer, Tallowchandler in Stramiglo, who had suffered much in his person and family fince 1674. He was, foon after the Bishop's death, apprehended in his own house and sent prisoner to Edinburgh, without any reason affigned; neither could he think of the cause, till he was brought before the Council, and charged with being accessory to the Bishop's death. But though he cleared himself by many unexceptionable witnesses, who declared that he was in Edinburgh for several days before and after that fact, yet it was with great difficulty he was fet at liberty about the end of the year.

Proceed-Council,

Mean while, on the 8th of May, the Council emitted ings of the a proclamation, discharging all Subjects to travel in arms without a licence, except Noblemen, landed Gentlemen, and their children and fervants traveling with them. They likewise wrote to Lauderdale, giving him an account of their proceedings and diligence in apprehending those that were concerned in the death of the Primate. They also ordered the Earl of Linlithgow to difpose his forces in the best manner he could for suppreffing pressing Conventicles, and made Adam Urqubart of Mel- 1679. drum, for his diligence in their service, a Justice of Peace in the shire of Roxburgh, to act in conjunction

with Henry Kerr of Graden.

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While these things were a doing, the Committee for of the publick affairs had impowered the Sheriff-deputies of Committee Fife, to secure and make an inventory of the goods of for publick Tohn Balfour of Kinloch Hackstown of Balfour of affairs. John Balfour of Kinloch, Hackstoun of Ratbillet, the three Balfours of Gilstoun, as being most suspected of the affair of the Archbishop, till they be apprehended and brought to a trial. They had also called before them ten persons apprehended by Meldrum; two of whom, viz. Robert Neilson and Nichol Story, they remitted to the Advocate, because of the discoveries they were supposed to make of Mr. Welsh. They found, that the bail for Mr. Alex. Gordon had forfeited their bond by not producing him, and therefore had incurred the penalty of five thousand merks; that Mr. And. Kennedy of Clowburn be reputed guilty, and fined in a thousand merks for refusing to swear (which was accordingly inflicted in a few days after) that Mr. John Law be difmissed; Bennet of Chesters (vol. I. p. 405, 406) be continued in prison, and Scot of Pitlochie be summoned to appear the next Council-day. The Council approved of all this on the faid eighth of May.

On the 13th, the Council met, and received the Proclama. King's letter, approving the draught of a proclama-tion against Field-conventicles; which they ordered to be against published. By this proclamation, all Judges and Officers of the army were ordered to proceed against all who go to Field-meetings with arms, as traitors, nay, and to execute the laws against those who go to Fieldmeetings without arms; adding, "We being fully con-" vinced by reason and experience, that those meetings " do certainly tend to the ruin and reproach of the Chris-" tian Religion and Discipline, to the introduction of Po-" pery and Herefy, the subversion of Monarchy, and " the contempt of all laws and government." So that by this proclamation the Officers of the army were in a manner either vefted with the authority of Judges, or

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people; which, in process of time, they actually did.

Sharp's Legacy.

The draught of this proclamation was made on the first of this month, and very much pushed forward by Sbarp, and was the last publick deed in which he was concerned, for he met with his deserved sate before it was published; for the Council would not enact it, till they had first got the King's approbation. However, this was the Primate's legacy, and a specimen of what he would have done, had he gone up to Court. Can any then be surprized, when such sanguinary laws were made, that the people, distressed by such a series of oppressions, should think of concerting measures to rescue themselves from the bondage of their oppressors? It is rather surprizing, that they bore these things so long.

Scot of Pitlochie, &c.

On the 14th, Mr. George Scot of Pillochie was fined in three thousand merks for Conventicles; and Mr. Patrick Simpson was turned out of Kilmacomb, where he had been indulged for breach of confinement and keeping of Conventicles; but afterwards he received a little more favour. At the same time the Council had a letter from the King, declaring, that he will resent the Bishop's death, and recommending them to go on in their search for those concerned in it; to which they sent a very respectful answer.

J. Spreul,

On the 15th, Mr. John Spreul Writer in Glasgow, who had been some time in prison, and Mr. Rob. Wylie, were both set at liberty upon giving bond to appear when called; and the same day, the Council approved the overture, obliging Heritors either to produce their tenants, or be liable for their delinquency.

Patists overlooked. On the 27th, the Council wrote to his Majesty, signifying, that the Earl of Argyle had desired assistance against the Lord M'Donald and the Rebel Papists: but considering the great increase of Field-conventicles, they could not spare any of the standing forces; however, they had issued a proclamation against them, and ordered the Sherisss of Dumbarton and Bute to join the Earl. May not the reader here see, that our Scots Episcopalians

Chap. 2. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

copalians were more zealous in persecuting the Protestant 1679.

Nonconformists, than in suppressing Popery?

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on their hands.

The fame day, the Council approved the following Comreport made to them from their Committee for publick mittee's affairs, viz. their ordering further fearch to be made report apfor those who had killed the Primate, and that witnesses proved. should be brought against Henry Schaw an intercommuned person; that they had dismissed upon bond the prisoners taken by Meldrum, except Neilson and Story; that they had ordered the Ladies Torwoodlie, Gallashiels and Newton younger, the Laird and Lady Ashiesteil, the Lady Fernylie, Mrs. Pringle and her daughter, with feveral other persons of meaner rank, who had been surprized at a Conventicle by Claverhouse, to be summoned before the Council; that they remitted Mr. Thomas Wilkie the Minister taken at that Conventicle, and Mr. Francis Irvine, an intercommuned Minister, to the Council, by whom they were ordered to the Bas; and that they had ordered Mr. James Daes to pay his fine by the

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second Tuesday of June, and to re-enter the prison on that Day. But before that time they had other business

#### CHAP. II.

Of the rising at Bothwel, and the attempts made against Lauderdale.

THE rigorous and military execution of the fan- Occasions guinary laws now in force, could not but exaf- of this perate those, who were, by this means, robbed of their rising. liberties and properties, and of every thing that was dear and valuable, especially, as oppressions of every kind were still increasing. All legal methods of redress were cut off from the poor fuffering people. What then could they do? Surely one might think, that it was incumbent upon them to fall upon some measures, for getting from under the feet of their cruel oppressors; for who would chuse to continue in misery, if they

1679. could, by any lawful and justifiable method, extricate themselves from it? They were most averse to take arms, until they were forced to it in their own necessary defence. And though they were obliged to have recourse to this expedient, yet they never defired to have an opportunity of making use of it; but being declared Rebels on this account, they were constrained to perfevere in it, till the fury of their perfecutors drove them to the rifing, I am now to give an account of.

It has been already observed, that, when they found, that fmall meetings were more exposed to danger than greater assemblies, they altered their method, and retolved to affemble in one meeting, in those places which they apprehended stood in most need of the gospel, and where they might meet together with greater fafety. They who thus affembled were generally those who were averse to the indulgence and the accepters of it; and many came to it armed. The orders given to the Soldiers, and the fevere laws made on account of the Primate's death, tended to increase their numbers; but the divisions occasioned by the unhappy indulgence, were of great disadvantage to them, and at last proved their ruin. I need not here repeat, what has been already faid on this point.

Resolution ferers.

When the numbers of the perfecuted party were conof the suf fiderably augmented, Mr. Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Prestoun, and some others, moved, that fomething further might be done as a testimony against the iniquity of the times. Accordingly, after ferious confideration and prayer, they refolved to continue to hear the gospel, notwithstanding all the dangers to which they might be exposed, and to publish to the world their testimony to the truth and cause, which they owned, and against the fins and defections of the times. In confequence of this resolution, the said Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Tho. Douglas one of their Preachers, and about eighty armed men, were pitched upon to go to some publick place, publish their declaration, and burn the papers mentioned in it. They judged that the 29th of May was the most proper time for putting this in execution. Accordingly, they came to Rutherglen, a final II,

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small royal burgh, two miles from Glasgow, in the afternoon, extinguished the bonfires, and put their resolution in practice, and affixed a copy of their declaration to the market-cross. It is as follows:

1679.

The declaration and testimony of some of the true Presbyterian party in Scotland published at Rutherglen, 29th May, 1679.

S the Lord hath been pleased still to keep and Their de
"A preserve his interest in this land, by the testi-claration

"monies of some faithful witnesses from the beginning; and testi
"so, in our day, some have not been wanting, who,

"through the greatest hazards, have added their testi"mony to those, who have gone before them, by suf"fering death, banishment, torturings, forseitures, im-

" prisonments, and what not, from a perfidious and cruel adversary to the church and kingdom of our

"Lord Jesus Christ in the land: therefore we, owning the same interest of Christ, according to the word of

" the Lord, and the national and solemn league and co" venant, desire to add our testimony to the testimonies

" of the worthies, that have gone before us (though we be unworthy, yet hoping we are true members of

"the church of Scotland) and that against all things

"done prejudicial to his interest, from the beginning of the work of reformation, especially from the year

" 1648 to 1660, but more particularly from the faid

" year 1660, and downwards, against the acts follow-"ing. As against the act of Supremacy, the Declaration,

" whereby our Covenants were condemned; the act for the eversion of the established government of the church,

" and for establishing of abjured PRELACY; the act re-

" ciffory of all acts of Parliaments and Affemblies, for establishing the government of the Church, according

" to the word; the act of Glasgow, putting the same in execution, whereby, at one time, were violently

" cast out above three hundred Ministers, without any

" legal procedure; likewise, the act for appointing an

" holy anniver fary day to be kept every 29th of May, 
for giving thanks for the fetting up an usurped

" Power,

1679.

" Power, destroying the interest of Christ in the land; " whereby the creature is fet up to be worshipped in " the room of our great redeemer, and a power is af-" fumed, which is proper to the LORD only; for the ap-" pointing of ordinances in his Church, as particularly " the government thereof, and the keeping of holy-"days, belongeth to no Prince, Prelate, nor person on " earth, but only to our Lord Redeemer. And further, " we give our testimony against all sinful and unlawful " acts, emitted and executed, published and profecuted " by them against our COVENANTED reformation. And " for confirmation of this our testimony, we do here " this day, being the twenty-ninth of May 1679, pub-" lickly and most justly burn the foresaid acts at this " cross of Rutherglen, being the chief burgh of the " Nether-ward of Clidesdale, as they, perfidiously and " blasphemously have burnt our holy COVENANTS, "through feveral cities of these covenanted kingdoms, "We hope none will take exception at our not subscrib-" ing this our testimony, being so solemnly given; for " we are ready to do it, if necessary, and to enlarge it " with all our faithful fuffering brethren in the land."

Claverhouse marches against them.

This is the copy printed by the united focieties in their informatory vindication; and though there is no mention here of the acts relating to the indulgence, yet that became, afterwards, matter of debate among them, as we shall hear. When this declaration was published, Mr. Hamilton and the rest retired from Rutherglin towards Evandale and Newmills. This affair made a great noise both at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Mr. Graham of Claverbouse (afterwards Viscount of Dundee) having unlimited powers to kill and destroy all he found in arms, came suddenly upon the town of Hamilton on Saturday afternoon, the 31st of May, and, in that neighbourhood, seized Mr. John King and about fourteen others, who were not in arms, nor had any thing laid to their charge. They who escaped, and some who joined them, in order to rescue Mr. King, repaired to the meeting, which they heard was to be at Loudonbill next day, expecting affistance from thence.

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Mean while Claverhouse, having likewise intelligence of 1679. that meeting, and refolving to disperse them, marched early from Hamilton on Sabbath morning the first of is defeated June, and carried his prisoners with him bound two and at Drumtwo, his men driving them before them like fo many sheep. Publick worship was begun by Mr. Douglass when they were informed of Claverbouse's approach. Wherefore all who were armed, refolved to leave the meeting, face the Soldiers, and, if possible, relieve the prisoners. Accordingly, about forty horse and a hundred and fifty or two hundred foot came up with Claverbouse and his party near Drumclog, and after a short and close engagement, defeated Claverbouse, and refcued the prisoners. Claverbouse had his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaped; above twenty of the Soldiers were killed, and feveral taken prifoners, whom they released upon their being disarmed. The countrymen lost not above two or three. One John Mortoun was killed; Thomas Weir and William Danziel (which last was concerned in the Bishop's death) died in a few days of their wounds.

The country people, after this action, resolved, since Afruitless they could not separate without evident hazard, to keep attempt on together, till they faw how matters would turn out. Glasgow. Mr. Hamilton marched that night to Hamilton, and Claverbouse escaped to Glasgow, and alarmed the Soldiers there. Next day Mr. Hamilton, and those who joined them in their march, being too much flushed with their fuccess, marched to Glasgow, and entered the town about ten o'clock; but after fix or eight were killed, among whom was one Walter Pater on a pious youth in the parish of Camnethan, and two or three wounded, they were obliged to quit the place, and retire to Hamilton, where they pitched a fort of a camp.

Such was the inhumanity of the Soldiers, that the Inhumadead bodies which were left in the street, were, for some nity to the time, not permitted to be buried. Some papers fay, Jlain. that Claverbouse and some of the Officers gave orders, that none should bury them, but that the Butchers

Dogs should be suffered to eat them. But be that as at will, it is certain, that feven dead bodies lay in the

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1679.

ftreet from eleven in the forenoon till night; and when they were taken into houses to be dressed for their burial, the soldiers came and stript them of their dead cloaths; nay, when they permitted them to be buried, none durst appear to perform this service but women, whom, notwithstanding, the Soldiers attacked, and cut the palls with their swords. And when the women used their plaids for palls, the Soldiers took their plaids from them. In short, they were obliged to set the cossins in the alms-house, near the High-Church, where they continued till, Mr. Welsh and some of their friends came and buried them.

Proclamation against the rebels, with remarks.

Early on the third of June, the Council met, and, having received a false account of these transactions, if fued a proclamation against the rebels, as they called them, wherein, after aggravating the rifing, they fay, that a party of difloyal persons, who had formerly tast. ed of royal bounty and clemency [viz. the finings, imprisonments, intercommuning, banisoments, &c. &c. men. tioned in the former part of this bistory | had come to Rutherglen and proclaimed their rebellious COVENANT [this was false] and had committed a great many outrages, &c. And therefore all perfons in arms were charged to lay down their arms, and furrender themfelves to the Earl of Linlithgow, or any other officer or Magistrate within the space of twenty-four hours, after the publication of this proclamation, or else to be treated as traitors, and rendered incapable of mercy [but there was no promise of pardon.] In short, all masters of families, heritors, &c. were required to be careful left any of their children, fervants, or tenants join the rebels, or else they were to be looked upon as dissaffected persons. We shall relate, how the foldiers improved this clause after The reader is to judge, whether they, who Bothwell. were now in arms, had any encouragement to furren-The same day they wrote to Lauderdale an account of these things.

Other proclamations.

Then the Council issued a proclamation, ordering the militia to be rendezvoused, and to join and act with the regular forces, under severe penalties; and another, ordering all the heritors and freeholders to attend the

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King's bost; and made all preparations they judged necessary for suppressing the rebellion, as it was termed. I shall only observe that all, or most of the officers named for this hoft, were violent perfecutors of the Presbyterians, many of whom had a warm side to Popery, and some were professed Papists. But to return to the affairs of the West.

On the third of June, Lord Ross and the officers in Motions Glasgow, finding that the gathering of the country of the people still increased, marched with the forces to Kil-forces. fyth, and carried with them, in carts, some of the wounded countrymen, who fell into their hands, and about the fixth were joined by the Earl of Linlithgow at Larbermuir; but being fally informed, that the West-country army was eight thousand strong, they wrote to the Council, that it was the general fense of the officers, that his Majesty should be applied to, for assistance from England. The Council required them to march to Edinburgh, and fent orders to the Governor of Stirling, to take special care of that city, and, at the fame time, wrote to Lauderdale an account of their proceedings, and required help from England. On the seventh of June, the army was cantoned about Edinburgh, where they continued till the fixteenth.

Mean while, matters were fo managed at Court, that D. of the Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh was pitched upon Monto command an army for suppresing this insurrection. mouth fent to When the Council received the news of this, they, on Scotland. the 15th, wrote to court, and proposed, that Dalziel might be made Lieutenant-General under the Duke.

About the middle of this month, Lord M'Donald, a The petiprofessed Papist, and the Macleans, having for some time tion of ravaged the lands of the Earl of Argyle, fent a petition M'Donto the Council, offering their service in suppressing the pift. rebels in the West, whose addresses, say they, we have rejected, and praying, that the Earl of Argyle might be required, in the mean time, to desist, &c. The infinuation, that the West-country people had addressed THEM, needs no confutation; for they, who opposed Prelacy, could never encourage Popery. But it was generally believed, that this army of professed Papists, now in

1679. arms, though they falfely pretended felf-defence against the Earl of Argyle, were yet in close correspondence with, if not under pension to the Duke of York, and in concert with those concerned in the Popish Plot in England. But if this was not the cale, yet how unaccountable it was, that the Council should receive a petition from the Commander of this popish party, when all Papists, in arms, were, by a late proclamation, declared to be guilty of treason, must be left with the reader: efpecially as it was with difficulty, that they were not employed in acting against the West-country army, of whom we are now to speak.

Westcountry army.

The fuccess they met with at Drumclog, and the retiring of the forces from Glasgow, gave opportunity to many to join them from all quarters, confidering the necessity there was to assist them in this extremity, and that themselves were liable to the same common danger from their enraged enemies. They were likewise convinced of the righteousness of the cause in which they were engaged, and that, if they should be made a facrifice to the rage of their perfecutors, they would be accountable for their blood, did they withhold their help. From these considerations many came from Galloway and Nithfdale, from Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, Renfrew, Lanerk, the Lothians, and Stirling shire; and among them were some Gentlemen of note.

Gentlemen p. 6.

The Author of the Memoirs of North Britain, printed join them, at London 1715, fays, "I know very well that infur-" rection is represented as a riotous tumult of a few " factious Enthusiasts; but its most certain, that se-" veral Gentlemen of note engaged in that business;

> " the tyranny of the Tories being become intolerable." And therefore the Bishop Burnet vindicates the Nonconformists from having formed any delign of rebellion be-

fore this; yet he was misinformed when he fays, " That " none came into this attempt but those desperate in-" tercommuned men, who were, as it were hunted

" from their houses into all those extravagancies, that

" men may fall in who wander about enflaming one another, and are heated in it with false notions of re-

ligion." But fuch invidious reflections are no more

than

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. Chap. 2.

han what might be expected from the pen of a Prelate on this subject; for I can see no extravagancies they ell into, but what was the natural effect of the opprefion of the Managers; and there were a good many Gentlemen that joined them, and many more who avoured their design.

There were likewise several Ministers among them, Ministers as Masters John Welsh: John King, John Kid, William with them. Foster, Tho. Douglass, Sam. Arnot, John Rae, Geo. Barclay, John Semple, &c. They never, as my author thinks, exceeded four thousand, though Echard would have them to be seventeen thousand, when they were routed at Bothwel; but then, many were but ill armed, and it was their loss that they had not officers who un-

derstood the art of war.

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When the King's forces left Glasgow, Mr. Welsh and Dead feveral others came thither from Carrick, and interred buried. the bodies of those who had been killed in the late attempt, together with the heads of the sufferers for Pentland. They shewed the like kindness to the heads and hands of those which had been set up at Kilmarnock, Irwin, and Air, and were well received by the good people every where; but the divisions that broke out among them, occasioned the defeat of their designs at this time.

The principal thing they had in view, was to publish Wella declaration to the world, shewing the reasons of their country conduct. Mr. Hamilton, who took upon him the com- army dimand, Mr. Douglass and Mr. Cargil, &c. were of opi- wided. nion, that the indulgence should be condemned; but this was opposed by Mr. Welsh, the Laird of Kaitlock and others: but Mr. Hamilton and his adherents being more numerous, the following general declaration was agreed to by the majority.

"We, who are here providentially conveened in our Their de-" own defence, for preventing and removing the mif- claration.

" takes and misapprehensions of all, especially of hat "those whom we wish to be, and hope are friends, do one "declare our present purposes and endeavours to be

" only in vindication and defence of the true reformed

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" religion in its profession and doctrine, as we stand " obliged thereunto by our national and folemn league

" and covenants, and that folemn acknowledgment of

" fins, and engagement to duties, made and taken in

" the year 1648, declaring against Popery, Prelact " Erastianism, and all things depending thereupon.

Divisions upon it.

When the army increased, there were several, who found fault with the last clause of the above declaration because it comprehended the indulgence, and therefore moved that it might be taken out; they faid that no thing should be in the declaration that had a tendency to exclude ANY Presbyterians from joining in their affift. ance, especially as the indulgence, in its own nature difputable, had not yet been declared finful by any Ge neral Assembly or other competent judge. On the other hand, it was argued, that the point controverted was only declared against in general terms; that Erasti. anism was as expresly abjured by this Church, as Prolacy; and that the indulgence was the fruit of Erastianism. These debates were carried to a great length.

Proposal

At another meeting, Mr. Hamilton and those of his for a fast. sentiments, moved, that they might observe a day of fasting and humiliation, before they should be engaged with the enemy; but they who opposed a testimon against the indulgence, did not relish this motion, unless fuch grounds of fasting should be given, as they all could agree in. However, they were at this time overruled; and a Committee was appointed confifting of four Ministers and four Gentlemen, to draw up some causes of fasting and humiliation. Accordingly, they referred to what was written in The Causes of God's Wrath, and then mention'd, 1. The extravagant rejoycings at the restoration. 2. The establishing of Prelacy. 3. The neglecting of publick testimonies against that abjured bierarchy. 4. The fin of many in taking unlawful bonds. 5. The paying of unlawful cefs, &c. for supporting the supremacy and suppressing the gospel 6. The complying with abjured Erastianism in the matter of the indulgence. They who were of different fentiments from Mr. Hamilton, would not come into those things s proper to be laid down as causes of humiliation; and 1679. o no fast was kept. And thus divisions broke this little

rmy, before they were broken by the enemy.

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When the cause of their appearing, and continuing Further n arms came be confidered at a meeting of their offi- debates ers, which they called a Council of War; Mr. Hamilton and about the his adherents were for having it stated upon the foot of state of he Rutherglen declaration (p. 30, 31.) But they who rel. avoured the indulgence, proposed, that the King's authority should be expresly owned, according to the third article of the Solemn League and Covenant. Against this t was argued, that as they had made no declaration against him, so they must be excused, and not urged to declare positively for him; especially as he was now in a stated opposition to the interest of Christ, and had upon the matter declared war against his people; and all the prefent opposition, cruelty and perfecution in Scotland, for redress of which they were now appearing, was carried on in his name. The covenants, they faid, only bound them to him in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdoms. But the King had actually overturned the true religion. et up Prelacy and Erastianism, ruined the covenanted work of reformation, invaded the liberties of the kingdom, persecuted to the death the afferters of both, and plainly broke the conditions of government fworn at his toronation. To this it was answered, that in 1638, the Affembly and Covenanters, owned the King's authority. though he had declared war against them. That this method of throwing off the King's authority would obfruct the redress of their grievances, and frustrate the delign of their appearance. But here the reader must observe, that Mr. Hamilton and his adherents proposed no declaration against the King's lawful authority, only would not positively mention bim or his interest in the declaration: and it is certain, that what they afferted concerning the King's opposition to the true religion, &c. was fact. How far their inference was just, must pe left with the reader. However, they who opposed ngs, Mr. Hamilton and his adherents, so far prevailed, as on as the 13th of June they got a declaration published at

1679. Glasgow, called The Hamilton Declaration, wherein the King's interest is expresly afferted. The reader may eafily fee, that this little army must labour under great disadvantages from these divisions, when the Enem was coming upon them.

As they had been for some days about Hamilton, so

it will be proper to return to the King's army.

We have heard that the army under the command of the Earl of Linlithgow was cantoned about Edinburgh and on the 17th they were at Kirkbill park, belonging to Lord Cardross, who suffered much at this time by the foldiers.

Monmouth at Edinburgh, P. 7.

On the 18th, the Duke of Buccleugh and Monmoul came to Edinburgh, and was admitted a Privy-councellor. The author of the Memoirs of North-Britain formerly quoted, fays, " That the Tories in England " persuaded the King, to send his Grace against those " unfortunate people, to make him odious to the pro-" testant party in both kingdoms, who wished well to a " endeavours for preservation of the protestant religion " their rights and privileges." This fame day the Council wrote to Lauderdale, acquainting him of the Duke arrival, and thanking his Majesty for sending him.

goes to the army.

On the 19th, the Duke went to the army, but march' flowly towards Hamilton. Next day, he fent to the Council, complaining, that their march was retarded for want of provisions, which were accordingly fent to him But some think, the reason of his Grace's slow motion was, because he expected some application to be made to him by those now in arms.

King's letter.

On the 20th, the Council received a letter from the King, approving of their proceedings, and requiring that they would profecute the rebels with fire and fword and all other extremities of war. These were order our Managers were ready enough to obey; accordingly they transmitted a copy of his Majesty's letter to the Duke, whose army then lay within two miles of the Kirk of Shots, and was about ten thousand strong which was more than twice the number of those the had to deal with.

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Vol. II.

There were, at this time, pains taken to dispose those 1679. arms to lay before the Duke their grievances, with professions of loyalty to the King. But their discords Discords till increasing, did a great deal of damage; for the time Westof action approached, and their numbers decreafed, be- Country ore the King's army came up. When they heard of army. Monmouth's arrival, a motion was made to model their irmy, and pitch upon fuch officers as were most skilled n military affairs. And at this time a person unknown rame into one of their meetings with a paper, as he faid, from fome ministers and others, which they earnestly defired all might fign. The tenor of it was, "We the · Officers of the presbyterian army do hereby declare, that we have no intention or design to overturn the government civil or ecclesiastical, whereunto we are folemnly fworn by our national and Solemn League and holes Covenant; and that it is our judgment and opinion, that all matters now in controversy be forborn and referred to be determined by their proper judicatories, viz. a free and unlimited Parliament, and a lawful "General Affembly." But both those proposals were dropt for a time.

On Saturday the 21st, the officers met, when those A council ch'd who were not of the sentiments of Mr. Hamilton and of war. the his adherents, were most numerous. At this meeting for their debates ran higher than ever, though the King's him forces were almost in view. At this council of war, as tion it was called, it was urged, that all places in the army hould be declared vacant, and officers harmoniously chosen, that so they might be intirely united in the time of action. Mr. Hamilton, and those of his way of thinking, declared their willingness on the condition of the right stating of the quarrel. Upon this, the indulgence was again brought upon the carpet, and the dispute was carried to fuch a pitch, that Mr. Hamilton, John Paton, Wil. Carmichael, And. Turnbull, &c. left the meeting. They who remained, chused a new Preses and Clerk, and entered upon business; but were unwilling to nominate officers, when so many had withdrawn. How-Petition to ever, being acquainted with the Duke's willingness to Monreceive application from them, and that being an affair mouth.

1679. that could admit of no delay, they unanimously voted a supplication to his Grace, wherein, after giving a general account of their grievances, they prayed that fome of their number might have liberty, under fale conduct, to come and lay before him their grievances and requests.

> On Sabbath the 22d, the Duke and his army were come to Bothwell-muir, and their advanced guards to Bothwell town, within a quarter of a mile from the bridge The country-men lay encamped on the fouth of the river Clyde in Hamilton-muir, and had an advanced party ready to dispute the passage at Bothwell-bridge, if the King's army should attempt it. Early that morning Mr. David Hume, the Laird of Kaitloch, and, some fay, Mr. 7. Welfb, went in difguise to the Duke with the supplication. They had easy access, and, besides the sup plication, prayed, " That they might be allowed the free exercise of religion, and to attend gospel ordi " nances dispensed by their own faithful Presbyteria " Ministers without molestation: That a free Parlia " ment and a free General Assembly, without the clog of oaths and declarations, should be allowed to mee " for fettling affairs both in church and state; and that " all those who now are or have been in arms, should " be indemnified." The Duke heard them patiently but refused to treat with them, till they had laid down their arms and submitted to the King's mercy. He sen them back to their friends, and ordered them to bring an answer in half an hour at farthest. In short, when the Commissioners came to the army, they renewed their debates, and so no answer was returned.

Battle of bridge.

The King's troops, in the mean time, had free I Bothwell- berty to plant their cannon; and Lord Living ston began the attack on the bridge with the foot guards. Th country-men stood their ground near an hour, and de fended the bridge with much gallantry. Hackstown of Rathillet, one of their commanders, shewed a good dea of bravery upon this occasion. But their ammunition failing them, and not being properly supported, the were obliged to quit the bridge, where their mail strength lay. Upon this the Duke ordered the whole ed

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rmy to pass the bridge with the cannon before them; 1679. nd foon after the whole West-country army was routed.

Thus the rebellion at Bothwell, as it was called, was Remarks. uppressed. From this I cannot but observe, that the ighteousness of a cause is not to be concluded, because is not always fuccefsful. It is plain, those people ofe in defence of their religion and liberties. A better ause none could be engaged in, and yet they were deeated. Again, though their appearance has been caled rebellion, yet every one, who has just fentiments of berty and law must view it in another light. ave observed, that the constitution of the government vas overturned, perjury, violence and oppression were stablished, and these very people put from under the rotection of the law, and exposed to bonds, imprisonhents, banishments, ravages and plunderings. hough they did rife in arms, and declare against the ivil and religious oppressions then established by authoty, yet they never did declare against the oppressors. is true, though feveral of them would not take the ling's interest into the state of the quarrel, yet they did ot declare against him. I shall only add, that had hey been successful, so as to have restored the civil and eligious liberties of their country, all good men would ave honoured their memory. And as it was, they derved to be had in great reputation. 'Let rebellious 7abites call this rising rebellion, none, who own the gloous revolution, and the protestant succession in the ouse of Hanover, can esteem it so. The chief thing, which these patriots were to blame, was their making as attempt without some greater probability of success, an for ought appears they had at that time. But as regal latters then stood, the divisions on the indulgence ruined. The is attempt. It is certain, they who were for bearing did do leir testimony against it did nothing but act according the principles of the *Presbyterians*. Happy had it dealers for the nation, had it never been complied with, nition pecially by so many worthy and godly Ministers.

There cannot be any just account given of the num-Number of mail er of the slain, because they were murdered up and the slain.

own the fields, as the foldiers met them: It was

Vol. II. reckoned four hundred were killed, and twelve hundred furrendered prisoners on the Muir, who were not only difarmed, but stripped almost naked, and made to lie down flat on the ground, and not fuffered to change that posture. And when one of them but raised himself a little. he was shot dead in an instant. There had been a much greater flaughter, had it not been for the Duke and the interest of several Noblemen and Gentlemen at that time with his Grace.

Earlstoun killed.

But notwithstanding the Duke's care, no small seve. rities were used by the foldiers, of which the following are glaring instances. Mr. William Gordon of Earlstown having his affairs to fettle, could not join the country army, but fent his fon Mr. Alexander before, who was in the action. Mr. William not knowing of the difafter of the West-country army, and riding as quickly as he could to join them, was met by a party of English Dragoons, and refusing to surrender, was killed on the spot. His friends could not get him buried with the rest of his family, and therefore he lies interred in the church-yard of Glasferton. A pillar was erected over his grave, but no inscription was suffered to be upon it. Mr. Alexander Gordon, one of the predecessors of this ancient family, entertained the disciples of the great Wickliff, and had a New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which they used to read in meetings in the woods near Airds, and not about Earlstown House, as Mr. Wodrow, through mil take, fays; because as Sir Thomas the present Laird as fured me, they had not then the possession of that estate Sir Thomas's father, Mr. afterwards Sir Alexander Gordon, narrowly escaped at this time; for after the defeat as he rode through Hamiltoun, one of his tenants know ing him, made him difmount, and put his horse furni ture into a dunghill, and obliged him to put on wo mens cloaths and rock the cradle, by which means he was preferved. We shall hear more of him after wards.

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his Jons narrowly escape.

> Several were murdered in cold blood by the foldier that fame day, on the road near Hamilton. They were going to hear fermon in the camp, not knowing that the foldiers had got over the river, particularly, James Scot

Persons murdered in cold blood.

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Scott

ler and Gavin Semple in the parish of Glassford, John 1679. Browning, Rob. Stobo, Wil. Hamilton, Rob. Steil, Wil. Pate and Arcb. Dick, all of the parish of Evandale, and Rob. Finlay in that of Stonebouse, though they had no arms. Next day, Arthur Inglis in Camnethan, reading his bible in a surrow, was looked upon as a Whig by the soldiers, who happened to perceive him, and therefore one of them fired at a distance, but missed him. The good man looked about, and not offering to move, the soldiers came and clave him throthe scull, and so dispatched him; and indeed they scarcely spared any they met with near the field of battle.

Dreadful were the consequences of this fatal action, Monand had it not been for Monmouth's lenity, they had been much greater; for some of the officers proposed to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, and the country round Bothwell-bridge; but the General rejected the motion with indignation. We shall hear, that most of the Gentlemen in the western shires were brought to inexpressible trouble. I shall only now mention the case of Sir Thomas Stuart of Cultness, son to Sir James Stuart late Provost of Edinburgh. He was obliged first to abscond, and then to retire to Holland, orders having been issued for apprehending him, though neither he nor any of his servants were there.

Dalziel's commission to be Lieutenant-General came Council's down on the day of battle. The Laird of Lundin proceed-brought the first news of the action to the Council, who ings. immediately sent dispatches to Lauderdale, and wrote to Col. Strutbers in Northumberland to secure the borders, stop and imprison the rebels, and gave orders where they thought it proper to accomplish this end; but these things I omit, being no more than what might have been expected.

The prisoners taken at Bothwell were this day brought Treatment into Edinburgh, among whom was Mr. John Kid. In of the pritheir journey they were generally tied two and two, soners. made a gazing stock in the places through which they passed, and exposed to the cruel mockings of the profane, who said, Where is now your God? take him up now,

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1679. and Mr. Welsh, who said you should win the day; tho' Mr. Welsh never faid any fuch thing. When they came to Edinburgh, the Council ordered the Magistrates to put them into the inner Grayfryars church-yard, with proper centinels over them, viz. twenty-four to guard them at night, and eight in the day-time. The officers were to keep a lift of the centinels, that, if any of the prisoners should escape, the centinels should throw the dice and answer body for body. The officers were to be accountable for the centinels, and the town of Edinburgh for the officers. These orders were put in execution, and the prisoners were all carried to the place appointed, except a few who were put in the prison, and continued in that inclosure near five months, mostly in the open air. Here they generally stood all day, and lay all night on the cold ground, without any other accommodation; and if any of them, in the night time, had raised their head for a little ease, the soldiers were fure to fire at them. It would be endless to recount all their hardships, and with what difficulty persons were allowed to bring them any necessary provisions; how the women were infulted and abused by the foldiers; for no man had access. It was esteemed a singular favour, that fome huts made of deals were fet up for them a few

Proclamation against the rebels. On the 25th, having had an account from the General of his having fent parties in quest of the rebels, whom he looked upon as dispersed, the Council ordered Henry Ker of Graden to search for Turnbull of Bewly, Turnbull of Standybill, Henry Hall, and Mr. Arch. Riddel, as being either at, or accessary to, the late rebellion. And next day they published a proclamation against the rebels, as they called them. Many names were inserted in this proclamation, and among others Mr. John King. The two brothers of the Earl of Galloway were named in the proclamation, but the Council afterwards declared, these two had made it appear, that they were not in the rebellion.

Rawages of the sol-

This proclamation made way for the foldiers to commit many cruelties up and down the country. A great many parties were dispersed through the west and south,

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but none were so noted for their barbarities as Claver- 1679. bouse and those under his command. Accordingly, upon any frivolous information, they attacked the houses of those, who they pretended had been in the rising, especially through the shire of Air, which had suffered so much, the last year, by the Highland-host. The reader will be able to judge what diffres that part of the country was in by a few particular instances.

William M'leweyand in the parish of Bar, had been at M'lew-Bothwel; his wife got consent to have him released from eyand. the Grayfriars church-yard: but as they were returning home, Claverbouse came with his troop to this man's house and rifled it of every thing. And during the rest of this perfecuting period, they suffered many such plun-

derings, which I have not room to mention. Fames Macjarrow in the same parish, though he was not at

Bothwel, fuffered much in the fame manner.

Claverbouse marching into Galloway with some Eng- Claverlish dragoons, &c. scarcely made any distinction between house's those who had been at Bothwel, and others, seized all the cruelties. horses they could find, plundered the houses, particuarly in the parishes of Carsphairn, Balmaclellan and Glenairn. In one house in Balmaclellan they forced a woman before her husband, and then pillaged the house. In the parish of Glencairn, in order to oblige a poor harmless youth to tell who of his neighbours were at Bothwel, they tied a small cord round his head, then aftened the two ends of it about the butt of one of their bistols, and twisted it so hard, that the slesh was cut ound into the scull. In the same parish they seized a poor shepherd boy, and, to force him to discover his master, fastened two cords to his thumbs, and by these hanged him up to the roof of the house. Mary Gordon of Robertoun (vol. I. p. 249) suffered much by frequent warterings of foldiers, who took away her horses, and blundered her house. In a short time after they returned, nd carried her and her only fon, John Gordon, a boy, o prison together, with two of her servants, who were oth transported to America. She and her son contiued some time in hold, to their great loss. Her tenants vere sadly oppressed for her sake. One of them, John reat Sprat.

se tick

Francis

Park, &c.

Sprat, was plundered and fined in twenty pounds for fpeaking to his own fon who had been at Bothwel.

Other shires were not exempted. Francis Park in the parish of Carmonnock in Lanerkshire had fourteen foldiers quartered upon him, and was obliged to give fifty pounds to fave his house from being plundered because he had lent his plough to a neighbour of his who had been at Bothwel. George Park in the same parish was forced to give two hundred merks for harbouring his own fon, who had been in the rifing. John Mitchel's wife, in the parish of Cathcart near Glasgow, had lighted matches put between her fingers to force her to discover her husband. But when the soldier found they could not prevail, they rifled the house and destroyed the provisions. I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections on these things.

King's letter,

On the 4th of July, the Council wrote to the Sheriff on the fouth of the Tay, to fend up exact lists of the heritors, who did not attend the King's bost, or who let it without permission. This occasioned many to suf fer, as we shall relate next year. At the same time they received a letter from the King dated the 29th June, concerning the prisoners, in which his Majest was graciously pleased to require the Council to examin fuch of them, as they thought could best discover the rife and progress of the late rebellion, and what corre pondence the rebels had, especially with the kingdom England, and to offer them pardon, upon making of their discoveries: but to put them to the torture, if the refused to inform in what the Council had reason to be here they knew. His Majesty approved of the fending three or four hundred of them to the plan tations, and ordered the ringleaders to be profecuted traitors, and the rest to be set at liberty upon the enaching themselves not to take arms against the Kin or his authority.

and pro-

Together with this letter, a proclamation came down clamation. of the same date, of which I must give the following tract, as this was the foundation of the third INDU GENCE: "We having \_\_\_\_ past so many acts, in " vour of the protestant religion, against Field-conve 10

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" ticles, whereby our subjects were withdrawn from 1679. " publick ordinances in fuch ways, as exposed them to " bear JESUITS, or any other irregular preachers, and " were at last debauched to meet in arms, in formed re-" bellions.—— We have therefore thought fit,—— to " recommend the vigorous execution of all our former " laws --- against such rendezvouses of rebellion .-" As also, we most peremptorily command all in office, " under us, to profecute, with all legal rigour, those " inhuman and execrable murderers of the late Arch-" bishop of St. Andrews, and all such as have had ac-" cession thereto.— But we being desirous to re" claim all such—— as have been misled by igno-" rance or blind zeal, and to convince all indifand to " ferent persons, that too great severity is as far from " our defign, as our inclination, have, according to the riff " power referved to us by-our fecond Parliament, " fuspended the execution of all laws and acts against " fuch as frequent House-conventicles in the Low Counfuf " tries on the fouth fide of the Tay only, excepting " Edinburgh and two miles round, the lordships of " Musselburgh and Dalkeith, the cities of St. Andrews, h o "Glasgow and Stirling, and a mile round each.——
"And—— we hereby suspend all diligences for fines, " upon the account of Conventicles, except such fines, r th as are imposed by our Privy-council, and such—as rre " were—transacted for, prior to the 29th of May last.
"But—we hereby ordain all such, as shall be sufferm o " ed to preach, to have their names given in and furety the " found to our Privy-council for their peaceable behao be " viour, only one preacher being allowed to a parish, " and none to be allowed, who have appeared against plan " us in this late rebellion, nor none who shall be ad-" mitted by the unconform Ministers in any time herethe Kin " after; affuring all those, to whom we have extended " this favour, that, if they or any of them shall, for the ' future, frequent any Field-conventicles, or disturb dow the peace of these our kingdoms, we will secure our g d " people and maintain our authority. — This our for-UL bearance being to continue in force only during our in I royal pleasure." onva

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1679. Remarks.

It is in this proclamation alledged, that they who frequented Field-meetings were exposed to hear Jesuits Whether this be not a most vile innuendo, must be lest with the reader. Though my author fays, that the favour here granted to the Ministers, was one of the least clogged favours that had been granted to the Presbyterians since the Restoration; yet I cannot but think it impossible for those who had the management of affairs in this period, to grant a favour without a clos I shall not therefore compare this with the former two indulgences, but shall leave it with the reader, whether they who exercised their ministry, in consequence of this, did not virtually acknowledge the wickedness of Field conventicles, of the late appearance in arms in defence of religion and liberty, nay, and the justice of the laws then made against their brethren. However, it was certainly some favour to be excused from the rigorous execution of those wicked laws then in force, tho' the condiof it was a burthen to many tender consciences. fuch as it was, it is likely, that it would not have been granted, had it not been for the interest of the Duke of Monmouth. And in consequence of it, the Council or dered the Magistrates of Edinburgh to release the Reverend Masters John Mosman, Arch. Maclean, James Forthie, Will. Kyle, Robert Fleming, Fran. Irvine, and Tho. Wilkie, upon their engaging to live peaceably, and not to preach at Field-conventicles. The Ministers in the Bass were likewise sent for to be set at liberty upon the fame terms.

Bond to be fubferibed by the Bothwel prifoners. This fame day, the Council, in obedience to his Majesty's letter, agreed, that so many of the prisoners (except the ringleaders) as would oblige themselves not to take arms against the King or his authority, should be released; and ordered intimation to be made, that if they, or any of them, shall afterwards be found in arms at Field-conventicles, they shall forfeit the benefit of the indemnity. Accordingly, the following bond was drawn up to be subscribed by the Bothwel prisoners. "I—be ing apprehended for being at the late rebellion; and

"whereas the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-council, in pursuance of his Majesty's command, have ordained

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" feet underwritten; therefore, I bind, oblige and " enact myself in the books of the Privy-council, that, "hereafter, I shall not take up arms without or " against his Majesty or his authority. As witness my " hand," &c. It is plain that they who figned this Memoirs bond acknowledged, that the rifing at Bothwel was re- of the Church bellion, and obliged themselves against defensive arms for of Scotthe future; and therefore it is no wonder, tho' many land, p. flood out and refused to accept deliverance upon terms 202. they thought not only contradicted their principles, but also trampled upon the blood of their brethren, who died in the cause.

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" me to be fet at liberty, I enacting myfelf to the ef- 1679.

About this time, the Duke of Buccleugh and Mon- The mouth published a pardon and indemnity to all tenants Duke's inand sub-tenants, who had been at Bothwel, in case they demnity. fubmitted themselves against such a day. There was likewise a bond required of the heritors in the West-country, obliging themselves to use their utmost for securing those who did not accept of this favour. But as few of the tenants chused to venture themselves into the hands of the Magistrates at that time, so the Heritors chiefly concerned refused the bond. On the 6th, the Duke took his leave of the Council, and in two or three days returned to England.

On the 11th of July, the Council received a letter Lauderfrom Lauderdale, fignifying, "That the King was in-dale's " formed of an infamous libel, wrote and dispersed at letter, " Edinburgh, printed and dispersed at London, and " cried in the streets, reflecting on the proceedings of " the Lords of Council and Session; that the King or-" ders a diligent enquiry, where and by whom the co-" pies were written out and dispersed at Edinburgh, " the accounts at London bearing, that they were written " at the chamber of James Hay Writer, who married a niece of Sir Arch. Primrose." The Council appointed a Committee to examine into this affair, and wrote a letter of thanks to the King for his concern for them. That the reader may know the rise of this, he will remember, that Lauderdale's administration had been blamed by many, as oppressive and subversive of the li-

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1679. berties and properties of the subject; and that several attempts had been formerly made in vain to get him fet afide. Nevertheless, as such a brave struggle was, at this time, making in England against Popery and arbitrary power, and as Lauderdale was as disagreeable there. as he was to many in Scotland, fo feveral refolved to renew their attempt against him.

Duke Hamilton quent to court.

Accordingly, Duke Hamilton repaired to the Court in the fpring, and foon after was followed by the Marquis of Athol, Sir John Cochran, and others; together with these two eminent Lawers, Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Cunningham, with an intent to renew their accusations against Lauderdale. The King's Advocate went up on the other side. Bishop Burnet says, he was sent for to defend the administration. On the 29th of May, the Commons of England prefented another address to the King, intreating his Majesty to remove the Duke of Lauderdale from his Councils and presence for ever.

Grievances laid before the King.

When Duke Hamilton and the rest got access to the King, they laid before him their grievances, which were printed under the following title, Some particular matters of fast, relating to the administration of affairs in Scotland, under the Duke of Lauderdale, bumbly offered to your Majesty's consideration, in obedience to your royal commands. This paper exposed the ravages of the Highland-hoft, the hardships of incapacitating persons for publick trust, of which feveral inftances were given. It fet forth the injustice of illegal imprisonments, the cruelty used to prifoners, the hardships many endured by unreasonable and arbitrary fines, and by placing garifons in Gentlemen houses, &c. The curious reader may peruse the paper at large in Mr. Wodrow, p. 102, &c. who justly ob ferves, that it certainly contained a material vindication of the people at Bothwel, who appeared in defence of religion and liberty; and adds, that, had the Noblemen and Gentlemen, who drew up this paper, laid many things, contained in it, at the door of the Prelates, as well as that of Lauderdale, the representation had been more full and just. But Sharp, the primum mobile, was gone; and fo the Duke was charged with all. Now Was

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. Chap. 2.

53 was the publishing and dispersing of this paper, that 1679. occasioned the letter to the Council formerly men-

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However, before the Council's answer to the King's letter reached the court, his Majesty allowed a conference in his own presence at Windsor Castle as to the matters of complaint. The debates lasted no less than eight hours, viz. from ten to one in the forenoon, and from four to nine in the evening on the eighth of July. There was to be another conference on the 13th, but Duke Hamilton and the rest, seeing how things were like to go, defifted from making any further attempt;

On the 11th of July the complaining Lords found that Lauderknow his Majesty was resolved to stand by Lauderdale; dale and on the 13th the King fent three letters, one to the fload his Council, another to the Lords of Session, and a third ground. to the Lords of Justiciary, approving of all their conduct; so that Lauderdale still stood his ground. Bishop p. 470. Burnet fays, "The hearing came on as was proposed; and it was made out beyond the possibility of an anfwer, that the giving commissions to an army, to live on free quarters in a quiet time, was against the whole constitution, as well as the express laws of that kingdom; and that it was never done but in an enemy's country, or to suppress a rebellion. They shewed likewife how unjust and illegal all the other parts of his administration were. The Earls of Essex and Halifax told him, that every thing was made out fully." He farther fays, "That though Kings naturally love to hear prerogative magnified, yet, on this occasion, the King had nothing to fay in defence of the administration. But when May the Master of the Privy-Purse, asked him in his familiar way, what he thought now of his Lauderdale, he answered, as May himself told the Doctor, That they had objected many damned things that he had done against them; but there was nothing objected that was against bis service." From the whole it appears, that the King was inflexible. And as this administration had the royal countenance and approbation,

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increase of injustice and oppression.

## CHAP. III.

Of the execution of Mr. King, Mr. Kid, and of the five that suffered at Magus-muir, the Circuit Courts, the third Indulgence, and other remarkable things to the end of the year.

Two Ministers
the first
facrifice.

Mr. Kid, who were the only Ministers that were apprehended on this occasion.

Mr. King appre-bended.

When Mr. King was taken, is not certainly known; only it is remarkable, that, when a party of the English dragoons were on horseback at Glasgow, one of them called for some ale, and drank to the confusion of the Covenants, &c. Then meeting one of his comrades at the Stable-green Port, who asking him, whether he was going, he answered, to carry King to hell. This was on the Lord's day. But the poor wretch had not rode far, till his carabine accidentally went off and killed him on the spot. The party carried Mr. King to Edinburgh.

Mr. Kid frequently examined.

Mr. Kid was among the prisoners taken at Bothwel (p. 46) and was frequently examined by some of the Councellors, particularly as to the occasion and beginning of the rising, and the persons concerned in it; but they could find nothing, but what has been related. And though he had been accused of being a popish Priest, yet he gave abundant proof of his being a firm Protestant and a good man.

Both Mr. King and Mr. Kid were before the Council on the ninth of July. When they were examined Mr. King confessed, that he was with those, that

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rose at this time; that he remembered that Earlstoun 1679. younger, was with them likewise, &c. but denied that he was with them when the King's forces were affaulted at Glasgow, or that he ever heard of a rising before it happened, or was ever upon any council with them. Mr. Kid confessed that he had preached in the fields; but never where there were men in arms, except in two places. They figned their confessions, which were afterwards produced, as evidence against them, at their trial before the Justiciary.

On the 12th of July, the Earl of Queensbery was ad- More famitted a Councellor for his zeal in promoting his Ma- wours to jefty's fervice and suppressing the rebels. The same day, in a letter to Lauderdale, they proposed some difficulties relating to the proclamation of the 29th of June (p. 48, 49) which was a modest way of asking a repeal of it, for they did not relish any favours to be shewn. However, on the 14th, a letter came by express from his Majesty, at the procurement of the Duke of Monmouth, enlarging favours to Ministers, which was so very difagreeable to the Managers, that the Archbishop of Glasgow was dispatched to Court, where it is likely he fell in with the Duke of York's party; for in a little time these favours were curtailed, and about, the end of the year, wholly taken away.

On the fame 14th of July, Mr. Kid was examined be- Mr. Kid fore the Council; and they imagining that he was not in- put to the genuous in his answers, ordered him to be put to the tor-torture. ture. It feems he was more than once in the boots,

and behaved with great meekness and patience.

On the 16th, Mr. King was examined before the Juf- Meffrs. ticiary; and when he figned his confession, it was or- King and dered to be inserted in the books of Adjournal to be pro
amined. duced as evidence against him. Mr. Kid appeared next day, but refusing to sign his confession, the Lords subscribed it, and ordered it to be registered, as in the case of Mr. King.

On the 18th, the Council granted a petition to pro-Kinkell's secute Alex. Hamilton of Kinkell, in order to his being sufferings. torfeited; and being informed that John Cunningham of Bedland, who had been forfeited on account of Pentland, had

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1679. had been at Bothwel, ordered him and his fureties to be summoned before them. Mr. Hamilton of Kinkell underwent a feries of trouble ever fince the restoration; for he had sheltered the ejetted Ministers, and encourag. ed them to preach in his house, without hindering any that had a mind to come and hear them. This exposed him to the indignation of the Primate, who ordered him to be summoned from the pulpit, in order to excommuni-The people of St. Andrews being so disgusted, that a person of Kinkell's piety and character should be thus ferved, generally went of the Church. The Bishop, feeing his excommunication would be treated with contempt, got him intercommuned; which obliged him to quit his house, and undergo many hardships. Soon after that, a garison was sent to his house, by whom his Lady, who was then near her time, and family were turned out of doors. The garifon continued in the house several weeks, destroyed most of the furniture, and confumed the provisions. After Bothwel, he was taken, bound with cords, and carried to Edinburgh where he remained prisoner about eight months. Tho he escaped forfeiture, yet his estate was ruined. Andi was after a kind of banishment for eighteen years, that he returned to his own house at Kinkell. But upon his fetting up a meeting-house, he was brought under new troubles; for at the instigation of the Primate Ross, he and Mr. Orroch the Preacher were, by a party of foldiers, carried prisoners to Edinburgh; but in a little time they were fet at liberty.

\* Goods
and
chattels.

It was about this time that the King and Council made over the \* moveables of those who had been a Bothwel to whom they thought proper, which occasioned great oppression; for the Donators, as they were called who had this gift made to them, in a manner plundered all they suspected, so that sew parishes in the West and South escaped this heavy oppression.

Ministers released.

On the 19th, the Council wrote to Lauderdale, acquainting him, that they had called the Preachers, who were prisoners in Edinburgh (my Author thinks the were the Field-preachers, the others having been released the fourth, p. 39) and offered them a bond, which

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two of them subscribed, and the rest resused; and that they had fent for the prisoners in the Bass, in order to make the fame offer to them. Accordingly, Mr. Pat. Anderson, Mr. James Frazer of Brae, Mr. Tho. Hog, Mr. John Macgilligen, Mr. John Macauly, Mr. Rob. Ross, Mr. John Law, and Mr. Will. Bell, were brought from the Bass to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where some other Ministers were confined, particularly, Mr. Robert Fleming Minister at Cambustang, afterwards of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam. Though they were willing to find bail for their appearance when called, yet, because they refused to oblige themselves to live peaceably, and not to rife in arms against the King or any authorised by him, they were remanded to prison. was contrary to the King's Letter, which offered them, either to oblige themselves, as above, or find caution or bail; fo that his Majesty gave them their choice: but the Managers infifted on the first. Mr. Will. Kyle, and Mr. Fran. Irvine, who figned the obligation, were fet at liberty. However, after some time the rest of the Ministers were released upon bond to apppear when called.

On the 22d, Robert Hamilton of Airdry, his fervant, R. Has and about fifteen other prisoners were set at liberty upon milton obliging themselves to live peaceably, &c. The same released, cardross day, the Council had permission to release Lord Cardross (vol. I. p. 376, 409) upon paying his fine. Mr. King and Mr. Kid received their indictment at this time. And,

On the 24th, they petitioned the Council, that they Mr. King, might be allowed Advocates to plead for them, fince &c. tetithey were fo foon to be tried for their life; and accordingly, Mr. David Thoirs and Mr. Will. Monnipeny were allowed them.

This Day, Mr. Veitch (p. 4, 6, 7, 12, 13) instead Mr. of having sentence of death passed upon him, was, in Veitch. consequence of a letter from his Majesty, ordered to be set at liberty, and retire to England. The reason of this sudden turn, in favour of this person, was this. Finding that sentence of death was to be pronounced against him, he prevailed with his friend Mr. Gilbert Eliot, asterwards one of the Lords of Session, to ride post to Vol. II.

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Mr. Eliot, not having access to Lauderdale, 1679. London. applied to the Earl of Shaftsbury and others of his party, by whom he was advised to print Mr. Veitch's case, sig. nifying his being apprehended in England, after near thirteen years residence in that country, and sent to Stotland to be judged for old alledged crimes, and to give a copy of the case to each of the Members of Parliament. This was done. Then the King was applied to, and, in a manner, threatened with a parliamentary enquiry into this conduct to an English subject. Whereupon the King wrote the letter just now hinted. And it came within an hour before the fentence of death was to have been passed. The same day, about twenty more prisoners for Conventicles were set at liberty.

Linlithewent to London.

These favours were granted to put some stop to the gow, &c clamours, that were made against Lauderdale's administration; and its not improbable, that had not the Duke of York come down, there had been more of this kind shewn; however, they were so far from being agreeable to the Managers at Edinburgh, that, on the 25th of July the Earl of Linlithgow and Claverhouse had the Council's permission to repair to London. They were in a few days followed by the Chancellor, and great changes were about this time talked of.

Trial of Mr. King and Mr. Kid.

Mean while, the trial of Mr. King and Mr. Kid came on, and they appeared before the Justiciary on the 28th Their Advocates gave in a petition in their favour, praying that the Lords would allow them an exculpation of liberty to vindicate themselves from the charge of high treason given in against them. In order to this, the petion bears, that Mr. King's being with the rebels did not proceed from any rebellious principles; but being taken by Claverhouse, he was released by the rebell (p. 32, 33) and not suffered to go from them; so that in fact, he was always in the quality of a prisoner; that during the time he was with them, he not only refuled to preach, but made it his business to persuad them to return to their former loyalty, and actually perfuaded several to desert them; and that h only carried a fword the better to disguise himself from being took for a preacher; but never made use of it. At An

And as to Mr. Kid, that he not only retired from them, as foon as he could, but absolutely refused to return; and entreated fuch of them as came in his way, to lay down their arms and throw themselves on the King's mercy. And that it was at the defire of some of the most peaceable, that, in the simplicity of his heart, he went to Hamilton to persuade them to obedience: so that when Robert Hamilton and some of the ringleaders became enraged at his advice, as he was going home he was purfued by a party of the rebels, who threatened to kill him if he did not return. And when taken, he got quarters and affurance of his life from the Lord General, &c. And as for being present at Field-conventicles, it was pleaded, that, if the petitioners freed themselves from the rebellion, they were secured from this by his Majesty's late proclamation; and they offered to prove all the premifes by unexceptionable witnesses.

But no exculpation was allowed them; for when Their contheir indictment was read, the Advocate produced their fessions confessions before the Council, as proofs against them; produced. and accordingly, they were brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the Market-cross of Edinburgh on Thursday the 14th of August, and their heads and right arms to be cut off and disposed of at the Councils pleasure. The reader is to judge, how far it was equitable to refuse them to vindicate themselves, as far as they were able. Interest was made for a remission, but to no

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On the 31st of July, John Balmerino, And. Snodgrafs, Cardrofs. and about twenty others, were fet at liberty, on figning liberty. a bond to live peaceably, and not to rife in arms against the King or any commissioned by him. The same day Lord Cardrofs was ordered by the Council to be released, upon paying the sums in which he was fined. Accordingly, his Lordship gave bond, and got out of prison: but being out-lawed for not paying his fine, his simple and liferent escheat was fallen into the King's hands. We shall hear more of him next year.

Mean while, the King signified, in a letter to the Prisoners Council, his detestation of the murder of the late ordered to be pro-Archbishop of St. Andrews, and commanded them to secuted.

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profecute nine of those, who were concerned in the late rebellion, with this additional confideration of having owned these murderers, who were excepted from any in. demnity, and that if those nine were convicted, they should be hanged in chains in the place where the murder was committed.

Committee

Accordingly, a Committee was appointed, who, on appointed the 6th of August reported, that they had ordered nine to be profecuted, as directed, had examined the prifoners in the Grayfriars Church-yard, and took particular notice of those, who refused to call the late rising in arms rebellion, or killing the Archbishop murder; and those that refused the band not to rise in arms hereafter, and had made up a lift of thirty persons. They likewise gave it as their opinion, that as there were other prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh and Canongate of the same guilt and perfuafion, the King's Advocate or Deputy should be appointed to examine them, and profecute nine of the most guilty; and that a Secret Committee, consisting of three or four at most, should be ordered to give in lifts of fuch heritors, ringleaders, and preachers, as were not yet taken, to General Dalziel, with warrants to fecure their persons, till they be brought to justice. They likewise moved, that the prisoners for Conventicles be fet at liberty, and that William Page who had been fined in a thousand pounds, and Robert Blair in two thousand merks, be remitted to the treasury for a mo-All which the Council approved of, and appointed the Earl of Murray, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Lord Collingtoun, Mr. Maitland, and General Dalziel, or any three of them, to be a Committee for the faid purpoles.

Ameeting at Edinburgh.

On the 8th of August, a confiderable number of Ministers met at Edinburgh, and agreed, "I. That all Mi-" nisters should, in the first place, visit their own congre-

" gations, where they were formerly fettled, and try what

" access they can have to preach the Gospel to them.

" 2. That they affociate themselves into meetings, as

"their numbers in particular bounds and their curvide er frances will best allow, and take care to provide er preaching to the people in the bounds of their respective et

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feetive meetings, who are desirous of it. 3. That 1679. every Minister shall be a member of the meeting, within whose bounds he resides. 4. That indulged Ministers, not indulged to the congregations they were in when laid aside, if their people, of whom they formerly had the charge, call them, return to them, and quit the places they are at prefent in. 5. That all who are licensed to preach, be particularly taken, obliged into subjection unto the meeting which licensed them, and to submit themselves to

Though my author fays, that the Ministers of this Remarks. neeting had the principles of presbyterian government t heart, together with the preservation of the church rom any hazard from persons who should afterwards be licensed and ordained; and that, had they not been topt by the new turn of affairs at Court, the last indulrence would have been fo managed, as to have cured he divisions, and been of great service both to church nd state; yet I find, that the reverend Mr. M' ere Vard, Mr. Brown, &c. did not look upon this as presbyterian meeting, but rather as an erastian fynaney gogue; for as they esteemed the indulgence, first and aft, to be the product of the supremacy, and inconsisteen ant with presbyterian principles, so they could not call wo his a presbyterian meeting; because instead of testifying no gainst the indulgence, they plainly approved of it, and

iel, he reader. On the 13th, at a large meeting of the Council, the Indemnity ling's indemnity was ordered to be published by the ordered to be published lagistrates of Edinburgh, with great solemnity and all ed. emonstrations of joy. At the same time a Committee as appointed to confider, what was farther to be done hat with the murderers of the Archbishop, the case of the risoners, and the state of the Highlands. This Comnitee proposed the holding of Circuit-Courts, the better profecute those concerned at Bothwel, and the murerers of the Primate, and moved that James Hamilton n apprentice, prisoner in the Grayfriars church-yard be et at liberty. Accordingly,

irtually abandoned that testimony, which many sealed with their blood. But these things I must leave with

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1679. Circuit Courts.

On the 14th, the proclamation for holding Gircuit Courts in October next was published; fignifying among other things, that they who did not lay hold or

Porteous rolls.

the indemnity, and all who were concerned in Pentlan thirteen years ago, and at Bothwel, and the murderen of the Bishop, and all who supplied or corresponded with them, were to be profecuted with rigour before them. By this proclamation, the Clerks of the Jul tice-Court were enjoined to have in readiness, in due time, a porteous roll, or a lift of the name and defignations of the faid rebels, and of those who it to should be informed against, upon oath, to have been such in the rebellion, or to have harboured the rebels of the murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrew we and of those who had been at Field-conventicles since the transfer of the late Archbishop of St. Sum and of those who had been at Field-conventicles since the transfer of the late Archbishop of St. Sum and of those who had been at Field-conventicles since the transfer of the late Archbishop of St. proclamation of the 29th of June last (p. 48, 49.) Sum Jest monses were likewise ordered to given in time to those sel who were to appear. In this proclamation for circuit of they who killed the Archbishop were particularly delegated. All heritors and landlords, where any of the entire the cribed. rebels lived, were commanded to apprehend them, and present them to the Circuit; and, in case they fled, t remove their wives, children and fervants from off the grounds (so that the innocent were to be punished with he the guilty.) By this proclamation, a reward of ten though the guilty.) By this proclamation, a reward of ten thou fand merks were offered to those who should bring it any of the murderers of the Primate, dead or alive nay, the persons, whom his Majesty had cut off from his indemnity, were to be pardoned and have the reward besides, if they should apprehend John Balfour of Kin if loch, and David Hackstoun of Ratbillet, dead or alive And to put the greater honour on these courts, a Dukes, Marquises, Archbishops, Earls, Lords spiritua and temporal, were ordered to attend. I shall only ob ferve, that these courts were established through all th principal parts of the country, where it could be imagina any of these people were supposed to be found.

In lemnity published.

The Act of Indemnity, above mentioned, was pub lished the same day, with all the outward signs of no joicing. A scaffold was erected at the cross, and the Magistrates, in their formalities, were witnesses to the proch

roclamation. But confidering the many exceptions, it 1679. ielded very little joy to the people concerned in the rifing; or, at one stroke, Ministers and Heritors who were conerned in the rebellion, or contributed to it, were cut off, together with those, that did not come to affift the King's bost. Nay, few could comply with the condi-ion of this famous act of grace; for they were to en-use age never to bear arms against the King or his autho-in hority, nor to be at any Field-conventicles. They had o notion of passive-obedience and nonresistance, though, the state same time, none shewed greater loyalty than they. But what could they do, when their liberties and lives, and that which was dearer to them than all, their religion, were in the most cruel and barbarous manner invaded? It was likewise in vain to think, that these brave coneffors would bind up themselves from hearing the gosbel in the open fields. However, this indemnity parloned all authors of infamous libels or pasquils, all who
ad misrepresented any of the King's judicatories and
the ervants. This plainly points at Duke Hamilton, &c. and p. 52, &c.) So that matters were come to a fine pass, to when some of the chief of the Nobility were ranked her mong those, whom they reputed rebels and traitors. In with hort, this was like King Charles's acts of grace; for it vas good for nothing. However, the publication of it was attended with ringing of bells in the forenoon. ve

And in the afternoon, Mr. John King and Mr. John Mr. King want raffold; and one would be tempted to think those mer-Kin Iful Managers pitched on that day to be a day of relive bicing for a mock indemnity, when those two faithful Ministers of Christ were put to death. However, hough they were cut off from having a share in this idemnity, yet they died in peace and with a joy, the which none of their persecutors could intermeddle with. Their tes-

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Their last speeches are in Naphtali, in which they timonies. ore a faithful and honourable testimony against Popery, relacy, Erastianism, and for the covenanted work of reormation.

Mr. Kid, when speaking of the rising at Bothwel, the ys, " For personal presence with that party, whom they called rebels: for my part, I never judged

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" them nor called them fuch. I acknowledge there were " a great many there, who came in the simplicity of the " hearts .--- I am as fure on the other hand, there was " great party there, that had nothing before them, by " repairing of the Lord's fallen down work, and then " floring of the breach which is wide as the fea.— Bu " for rebellion against his Majesty's person or lawfu authority, the Lord knows, my foul abhorreth it " name and thing. Loyal I have been, and will even "Christian to be so; and I was ever of this judgment " to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and "God the things that are God's." After this he de clared his abhorrence of *Popery*, with which he had been falfly accused, and concluded his testimony with the words, "As I have lived in the faith of this, that the Three Kingdoms are married lands; fo I die in the " faith of it, that there will be a refurrection of h

" name, word, cause, covenants, and of all his interest " therein; though I dare not determine the time who or the manner how; but leave all these things to the

" infinitely wife God, who hath done, and will do

" things well. O that he would return to this lan " again, repair our breaches, take away our backshi

"ings, and appear for his work! --- Come Lord J " fus, come quickly! himself hasten it in his own tin

" and way! The Lord is my light and my life, m

" joy, my fong, and my falvation. The God of h chosen be my mercy this day, and the enriching con

" forts of the Holy Ghost keep me up, and carry " fair through, to the glory of his grace, to the edit

cation of his people, and my own eternal adva

tage. Amen.

Mr. King's testimony was much to the same pu pose with that of his fellow-martyr. Among oth things, he spoke to the commendation of the Cross Christ, and concluded in this moving and affecting ma ner, " Now I bid farewell to all my friends and de " relations; farewell my poor wife and child, whom

" leave on the good hand of him, who is better the

se feven husbands, and will be a father to the farth 66 less. Farewell all creature-comforts, and welcom

« everla

e everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love 1679. " and everlasting praise. Bless the Lord, O my soul,

" and all that is within me."

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Thus these two went to their Master's joy, and left their persecutors to conclude the day with their bonfires, on account of the notable indemnity published in the forenoon. Their heads and right hands were cut off and placed beside that of Mr. Guthrie on the Nether-bow Port.

On this difinal day, the Council wrote to Lauderdale, Order of desiring that a frigat might be sent down in order to Council. transport the prisoners in the Grayfriars church-yard. They likewise ordered the Ministers who were prisoners in Edinburgh (those, viz. that refused their bond) to be released on finding sufficient bail to appear when called,

under the penalty of ten thousand merks each.

Next day, the 15th of August, the King wrote to the Persons Council, and ordered the following persons to be \* cri- to be crininally profecuted. The reason was, that, upon the minally profecuted. examination of some of the prisoners, several did not \* tried for own the rifing of Bothwel to be rebellion, nor the killing their life. of the Primate to be murther. And we shall afterwards ind that feveral were executed on this very account, when nothing else could be laid to their charge. The persons who had been called and examined were fames Lileburn in Kinross refused the bond, NM; David Hardie in Lessly refused the bond, NR, NM; Rob. con Bogie in Newbigging, NR, NM; John Richardson in stenhouse refused the bond, NR; Rob. M'Gill weaver n Gallowshiels, NM; Dav. Somerwel in East Calder reused the bond NR, NM; Alex. Steven in Bothwel arish, NR, NM; Tho. Williamson in Overcranstoun, NR, NM; John Scot in Ettrick, NR, NM: Will. ameron in Dalmellingtoun, NR, NM; Rob. Miller in Vaterford, NR, NM; Jam. Wood in Newmills, NR, M; John Govan in Kirklistoun, NR, NM; Tho. ringle in Stow parish, NR, NM; And. Sword in the arish of Borg in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, N R, M; Jam. Gray in West Calder, NR, NM; John bomson in Shots, NM; John Waddel in ditto, N 1; Patr. Keir in the parish of Kincardin, NR, N Vol. II. M;

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1679. M; Thomas Brown in Edinburgh, NR, NM; Will.

Anderson in Living stone parish, NR, NM.

N.B. The names marked NR are those who would not acknowledge the rising to be rebellion, and those marked NM who would not own the Primate's death to be

murder.

Signing the bond.

In this month of August fifteen of the prisoners in the Grayfriars church-yard, whom they looked upon as the ringleaders, were brought to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in order to be tried for their life. Mr. Edward Jamison was fent to them from the meeting of Ministers formerly mentioned; though Mr. Wodrow fays, he found no evidence that he was fent by them, yet he owns he went and reasoned with them at a considerable length, in order to persuade them to subscribe the bond (p. 50, 51.) He urged the lawfulness of this expedient to fave their lives, and endeavoured to make them fenfible, that their refusal would be a reflection on religion and the cause they appeared for, and a throwing away their lives, for which their friends would not be able to vindicate them, He prevailed with thirteen of them who were fet at li-But this compliance lay heavy on feveral of Most of the prisoners in the church-yard, by the follicitations of their friends and the advices of some Ministers, particularly, as is said, of Mr. Hugh Kennedy, Mr. William Creighton, Mr. Edward Jamison and Mr. Geo. Johnston, signed the bond, while others refused to accept deliverance upon such terms, as were inconsistent with their principles. The revd. Mr. John Blackadder, being at this time at Edinburgh, was very serviceable to these prisoners, and in a particular manner diffwaded them from complying with the bond. What came of those who refused this compliance, we shall hear in its proper place; only feveral who did comply, shared the same fate with those who did not.

P. Walker.

Nine in-

On the 26th of August, Will. Richardson in Stonehouse, Tho. Brown shoemaker in Edinburgh, John and Alex. Balfours in Gilstoun, Tho. Williamson in Over-Waristoun, Rob. Miller in Gallashiels, Rob. Miller in Watersoot, Jam. Paton in Inverkeithing, and And. Thompson in Sauchy, were indicted for treason in joyning with those at Both-

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wel; but it was the month of November before any of 1679. them were brought to trial; mean while several were appointed to plead for them. The same day, Mr. And. Donaldson, Mr. — Erskine, and Job. Henderson in Cleish, who had been confined for Conventicles, and had been forgot, when others obtained their liberty, were released.

On the 19th of September, the Council wrote to Lau- New derdale for liberty to the Justices to offer the bond, which powers to was granted. At the same time, new powers were given the army. to the army to seize the murderers of the Archbishop, to apprehend any Ministers or Heritors guilty of the late rebellion, or others of the rebels, who had not figned the bond, or any who harboured them, and fecure them in prison, with power likewise to dissipate Field-conventicles, and apprehend the preachers and others present at them, and indemnified the foldiers of all flaughter and mutilation in case of resistance. They likewise ordered the rents, money and moveables belonging to the murderers of the Primate, and the Heritors engaged in the rebellion, to be sequestrated, and enjoined the Advocate to profecute Mr. Geo. Johnston, or any other Ministers, who have been guilty of Field-conventicles fince the 29th of June last, with power to Major Robert Johnstoun to fearch for any suspected Conventicles in or about Edinburgh, &c.

On the same 19th of September, they agreed upon the Licence. sollowing license to be given to those Ministers who had liberty to preach: "The Lords of his Majesty's Privycouncil, having considered the petition of —, representing, that they have chosen — to preach
and administrate the sacraments in the parish of —

seconsorm to his Majesty's proclamation, June 29, agreeand his letter July 11, and therefore desiring that able.

seconsorm to the said — conform surety.

to the said proclamation. The Lords grant the supplicants desire, who have accordingly found sufficient
cants desire, who have accordingly found sufficient
caution acted in the books of Privy-council for the
said — that he shall live peaceably; and in order
thereto that the said — shall appear before the

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Council, when the faid cautioners shall be called to

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1679. " produce him, under the penalty of fix thousand merks " in case of failie."

Bond. \* known.

The following bond was likewise to be given for the said Minister: "Be it \* kend to all men by these pre." sents, me —— for as much as upon a humble sup." plication given in to his Majesty's Privy-council, they have ordained caution to be received for —— who is allowed to preach and administrat sacraments in the parish of ———, therefore I bind and oblige myself, my heirs and successors, that the said —— shall live peaceably; and in order thereunto, that I the said —— oblige myself and foresaids, to present him before his Majesty's Privy-council, when I am called so to do; and in case of my sailie in not present senting him, I shall be liable in the payment of the sum of six thousand merks Scots money. Consenting, so so, in common form.

It was on account of these bonds, that some have called this the BANDED indulgence. At a meeting of Ministers about the end of this month, the most part judged it lawful, at this time, to comply; but I find them condemned by others, who thought that, by coming under these bonds, they condemned themselves as guilty of former unpeaceableness, and engaged in a sinful peace with the enemies of God, and became bound and settered by these bonds from bearing a testimony against the desections of the times, and the encroachments made both upon civil and sacred liberty. But these things I must leave with the reader. We shall find, that this third indulgence was but of short continuance.

Proclamation with the names inserted.

On the 20th of September, another proclamation was issued against the murderers of the Archbishop, with their names inserted, viz. John Balfour of Kinloch, Dav. Hackstoun of Ratbillet, Geo. Balfour in Gilstoun, James Russel in Kettle, Robert Dingwal a tenant's son in Caddam, And. Guillan weaver in Balmerinoch, Alex. and And. Hendersons sons to John Henderson in Kilbrachmont, and Geo. Fleming son to Geo. Fleming in Balbuthy. Such Ministers and Heritors who were in what they called the late rebellion, and any that had harboured any of the murderers or rebels, were put into the proclamation; at the end of which, all Magistrates of royal burghs were ordered

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rdered to take the declaration by next Michaelmas. 1679. The fame day Mr. William Erskine (vol. I. p. 397) who had been a prisoner in Stirling above three years, Erskine. vas ordered to be fet at liberty. And tho' Mr. James Mr. Rymer, late Professor of Philosophy at St. Andrews, was Rymer. bund innocent of harbouring any of the murderers of the Primate, yet he was ordered to give another bond, under he penalty of ten thousand merks, to appear before the ufficiary, when called.

According to the order of time, we are now come to Circuit peak of the Circuit-courts, who were appointed to fit Courts. own on the first of October, &c. (p. 61, 62.) A distinct count of their proceedings is not to be expected, as heir records, if they kept any, are not to be found. ccording to the proclamation, the Clerks or their Deuties, before the meeting of the circuits, went through very parish in the precinct of the court, and took up formations (p. 61) as directed; and not only the heriffs and Justices of the peace, but also the Curates kerted themselves to the utmost to get informations. Porteous

From these informations, the porteous rolls were rolls. amed. These rolls were filled up with all sorts of ersons who had any substance, whether they had been Bothwel or not. The most innocent were informed gainst by any envious neighbour or base prodigal, and hen once in those rolls the greedy donators (p. 56) bliged them to compound for their moveables or feized em, even before any indictment or fentence. Many ere the oppressions and hardships which numbers enared upon this score.

When the Lords of the Circuit fat down in the places froms. figned them, great numbers were before them, especially at Glasgow, Air and Dumfries. They who apeared, and confessed they had been at Bothwel, if they ere not Heritors, had the bond offered them. They ho appeared and defired their indictment, were imisoned, till they found bail to appear at Edinburgh, and fwer to the things that should be laid to their charge. at all who did not appear, were declared fugitives, and mounced rebels. The absent Heritors (for very few them appeared) were denounced, and not a few foon er were forfeited. Noblemen, Gentlemen, Soldiers

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and others, who were most active in the arbitrary me sures of this period, obtained gifts of their estates; an several of them kept possession of them till the happer revolution. And they who had no heritage, in their houses and goods spoiled by the soldiers. The were the happy effects of these itinerary courts. We shall hear more of them in the following years.

Preparations for the D. of York.

On the 16th of October, the Council being informathat the Duke of York was coming to Scotland, wroten the absent Members to repair with all speed to Edinburgh since they intended to meet his Royal Highness on the Boders. All Noblemen and Gentlemen in the neighbour hood were ordered to attend them on this occasion; and Mr. Maitland of Dudhop was sent to wait on the Duke Evaluation.

in England.

Occasions
of bis coming to
Scotland.
Rapin.

About the end of August last, the King being at Win for, was feized with three violent fits of an intermitting The fits were so long and severe, that the Ph ficians apprehended he was in danger. The Earl Effex and Lord Hallifax, two of the four Councellor which then managed the King's affairs, fearing, if the King died, to fall into the hands of the Duke of Ma mouth and Earl of Shaftsbury, advised the King to fer for the Duke of York; which was done with all secret and speed; for the Duke arrived at Windsor on the s cond of September. But the King, being then out danger, pretended a furprize at his arrival. And who he was recovered, it was moved, that the Duke shoul return beyond fea. This was contrary to the inclination of his Highness: but finding his brother positive, h moved, that the Duke of Monmouth might be put of of all command, and fent abroad. This was complied with. Both Dukes went beyond sea. But says Bisho Burnet, Lord Tweedale being then at London, moved the Lord Peterborough, that it would be more honourable and more for the Duke's interest, instead of living by yond fea, to go and live in Scotland. Peterborough we immediately to the King, who approved of it. So no tice was given to the Duke, and he was appointed t meet the King at Newmarket. The Duke met the Kin

accordingly; upon which Shaftsbury was foon turns

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ut, and Lord Roberts, then made Earl of Radnor, beame President of the Council. There were several ther alterations; and the King became intirely under ne management of his brother. Tweedale perceiving, hat fince the Duke of Monmouth had loft all credit with he King, Duke Lauderdale would again be continued his posts, and act over his former extravagancies; hereas he judged, that upon the Duke of York's being Scotland, he would be chequed. Besides all this, his lighness perceiving a storm gathering against him in ingland, was willing to retire, till that was a little abated. lowever, the reader may fee, that the Ministry in cotland had early notice of these proceedings; for the ouncil had a letter from the King on the 18th of Sepmber, fignifying, that he had recalled the commission the Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth from being eneral; and on the 16th of October, they began to repare for the reception of his Royal Highness, whose esence very much strengthened the violent party in e Council, and promoted the fevere measures of the relates against the Presbyterians, who could expect no your from Popery and Papifts.

By a letter from the King, dated November the first, Dalziel's eneral Dalziel received an unlimited commission, ex- Commispt in emergencies of state, when the Council were al-fion. wed to give directions, and the officers and foldiers had ders to fearch for and apprehend those, who were de-

ared fugitives and rebels by the Justiciary. When the Managers found, that what would arise Nonom the estates of those, who had been personally con-attendants rned in the rifing, would not answer their expecta-on the King's n, a more general oppression was resolved upon. host proseccordingly, on the fixth of November, a Committee cuted. is appointed to meet with the Lords of Justiciary, to nsider what was to be done with those who did not lend the King's host (p. 34, 35.) Accordingly, on the thth, they gave it as their opinion, that they should be ed, the most guilty not above two years valued rent, d the least in the fourth part of their rent, and be liged to take the oath of allegiance and the declaration; if they refused this last, to be fined in the highest

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degree. This was approved of, first by the Council and afterwards by the King; and measures were take for getting lists of all these Gentlemen they intended to

profecute on this point.

Prisoners indicted.

The fame day, the Council ordered about thirty of the prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, who had to fused the bond, to be prosecuted before the crimina Accordingly, on the 10th, James Finlay, The Brown, 7. Wood in Newmills, And. Sword weaver in the flewartry of Kirkcudbright, John Waddel in New Monk land, 7. Clyde in Kilbride, with feveral others, were before the Justiciary. In their indictment, they were charge with entering into a deep combination, to overturn the fundamental laws both of church and state, professing that they would have a parliament of their own framing without either Bishops or Noblemen [all this was fall with burning his Majesty's laws at Rutherglen; declaring his Majesty an usurper, [false] and that he had robbe Jesus Christ of his Crown, because he would not acknow ledge them and their Ministers to be Christ's infallible Vicegerents, and to be fuperior to him in his own king dom, [ false and flanderous; no such thing ever entered the thoughts] that when they engaged his Majesty's force they gave for their word, No quarter; and that they re fused it to all universally, who sought for his Majesty [false] that they joined with the murderers of the Arch bishop as their emissaries, [still false] and assembled a army of ten or twelve thousand men; [they never wa half the number ] that at Glasgow they robbed and spoils the King's subjects, opened the prison doors, and three out of the graves the dead bodies of fuch children, belonged to the orthodox Clergy. [false] In short, the indictment was stuffed with falshoods, and embellished The truth is, the prisoners favoured the with lies. rising at Bothwel, though only some of them were per fonally there, and one without arms too. However, was thought necessary, to aggravate their rising to the utmost. My author justly observes, that as the public papers of this period were generally fo full of lies an flanders, it was no wonder though the English Hills rians were led into miftakes, when treating on the fain

Chap. 3. CHURCH of SCOTLAND. 73 fairs of Scotland, especially considering the many lying 1679.

pamphlets, that were published by the Jacobites after the

revolution.

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The same day, John Brown of Drumsarban, James Five con-Clow in Ballock, John Stevenson in Waterside, and eight demned. others, were indicted for harbouring the murderers of of the Archbishop; but it seems the process was dropt; whereas, five of the prisoners, that had been endicted for the affair of Bothwel, viz. Thomas Brown, John Waddel, Andrew Sword, James Wood and John Clyde, were marked out for ruin; and, upon confessing their being at Bothwel and refusing the bond, were condemned to be executed on Magus-muir, on the 18th instant, and to be hanged in chains, as if they had been the persons that killed the Primate, though they were no ways accessary to it. However, it seems that, for some reasons, their execution was put off to the 25th. tho' the Jury brought in James Wood, as being taken at Bothwel without arms, yet these just Judges made no difference.

November the 13th, the Magistrates of Linlithgow, Meeting-Innerkeithing and Kirkaldy had orders to suppress the houses suppressed meeting-houses there; and a proclamation was published pressed against Conventicles, discharging all to preach or hear sermons in any parish, which had not given bond to the Council, under severe penalties. And the same day, by mother proclamation, the common people engaged in Bothwel were ordered, by the first of January next, to come and sign the bond, and satisfy the Lords of Justiciary, why they had so long delayed it. There is no occasion for any remarks on these things.

On the 15th, two hundred and fifty-seven of the pri-Prisoners oners in the Grayfriars church-yard were put aboard a put hip lying in the Road of Leith, before any of their aboard, riends knew of it; and though thirty were dangerously ll of a flux, and other distempers, yet they were hurried

way with the rest.

They continued twelve days aboard, before the ship their hard-ailed, and suffered inexpressible barbarity in the ships. They were so closely pinned up together, that they had carce room to move. Their friends were neither per-Vol. II.

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1679. mitted to fee them, nor minister to their necessities, Some of them were forced to drink their own urine to quench their thirst; and some of the wicked failor threw their excrements in their faces: and though; large collection, amounting, as is reported, to fourteen thousand Merks, was made for them, yet little of it came to their hands; and indeed few of them lived long to want it, as we shall hear.

Duke of York's reception at Edinburgh.

On the 24th, his Royal Highness the Duke of York was received into the town of Edinburgh with great for lemnity, and was fumptuously entertained by the Ma gistrates and the Nobility. And thus the Managers in Scotland careffed the great promoter and support of Popery and Tyranny, while many brave patriots in Eng. land were endeavouring his exclusion, as the only means was to preferve the protestant Religion and the liberties of the fubject.

Next day the five prisoners above mentioned were executed at Magus-muir. And nothing could be more proper, after the arrival and splendid reception of a popul Prince, than to gratify him by cutting off some of the

worst of hereticks.

The joint and separate testimonies of these sufferer are in Naphtali, to which I refer the reader, who will there find the reasons, why they could not take the bond to fave their life, &c.

Thomas Brown.

Thomas Brown was the first that was executed. He declared that he was never before in that country, and fo was no wife accessary to the Bishop's death; and added, "As for my part in rifing in arms, I intended " no rebellion, but was then with that party in defend " of the Gospel, which I judged my duty." --- After he had prayed, "he bleffed the Lord, that if this day

" every hair of his head was a man, and every drop of " his blood a life, he would cordially and heartily in

" them down for Christ and his cause, for which he wa

" now fentenced."

Andrew Sword.

Andrew Sword fung the 34th Psalm, and declare that he was never in that place before, and never faw: Bishop, that he knew to be so. He blessed God to being kept from taking the enfnaring bond; and having Or

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bad farewel to all created comforts, prayed before he 1679. to died.

James Wood faid the fame as to the Bishop's death, James and was fo far from repenting his being at *Bothwel*, or Wood. refusing the *bond*, that he gloried in it. When he was almost at the top of the ladder, he pulled up the napkin, and faid, "Now I am going to lay down this "life, and to step out of time into eternity; and if I had as many lives, as there are hairs in mine head and "drops of blood in my body, I would willingly lay them down for Christ, and for you all, that are here upon "Christ's account. You may think that this is a frothy word, but it is the word of a dying man." He then recommended Christ and his cause in a moving way to the spectators.

John Waddel declared his innocence as to the Bishop's John leath, being never in that country before. He faid, that Waddel. he refused to take the bond, because it was a denying of all appearances for Christ and his cause. He bore his restimony against popery, prelacy, malignancy, the Indulgnce first and last, and the abominable cess. Before he went to prayer, he faid, "Now, Sirs, I am not a whit ' discouraged to see my three brethren hanging before

" mine eyes, nor before all this multitude, to pray." After John Chyde had gone to the ladder, he faid, "I John think our being fetched here, is like that which we Clyde.

" have in scripture about Herodias suit to Herod anent " John the Baptist's head, to gratify the unfatiableness of that lewd woman. Nothing would fatisfy the lust of our perfecutors but our blood, and in this manner ' and place to gratify the Bishop's friends." He vinlicated his joining those at Bothwel, and his refusing the ond, as the others had done before him. At the ladderoot, he said to his brother, "Weep not for me, bro-

ther, but weep for yourfelf and the poor land, and ' feek God, and make him fure to yourfelf, and he ' shall be better to you than ten brethren. Now fare-

' wel all friends and relations; farewel brother, fifter, ' and mother, and welcome Lord Jefus; into thy ' hands I commit my spirit." And lifting his napkin

rom his face, he faid, "Dear friends be not discouraged L 2

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1679. " because of the cross, nor at this ye have seen this day; or for I hope you have feen no discouragement in me,

" and you shall see no more."

They were hung in chains according to the fentence, but now lie buried in a corn-field near Magus muir, with grave-stone upon them, which was fet up in October 1728, with an infcription, which the reader may fee in the last edition of the Cloud of Witnesses.

p. 404. Prisoners. loft.

with the poor prisoners, and met with several storms in the passage. On the 10th, they got to Orkney, in a cert very tempessuous sea. The prisoners fearing what hap ore pened, desired to be set ashore, and sent to what prison with the Captain, who was a Part the Captain, who was a Part the Captain, who was a Part the Captain. On the 27th, the ship sailed from the road of Leith the Master pleased. But the Captain, who was a Papist, confined them under the hatches. About ten a night, the ship was drove from her anchor upon a rock mir and broke in the middle. The sailors quickly got down the mast, and laying it between the broken ship and satisfactors, got ashore; but such was their barbarity, that has no intreaties of the poor men could prevail with them n open the hatches, though, had that been done, most of them had been faved; whereas all of them were drown ed in the hold, except only that an honest seaman, be ing struck with horror at this cruelty, ventured his life to go aboard, and with an ax cutting through the ded of the veffel, got forty-nine or fifty of them out alive and fo two hundred were drowned, or rather murdered "After this piece of cruelty, fays the author of the M moirs, I think I need make no apology for faying, that the reign of Dioclesian, or any of the most cruel perse cutors of God's church, could not match this; for the were men delivered, men to whom life was granted, according to the King's letter, dated 24 June (p. 98 and the indemnity afterwards. And confequently the per petrators of this villany ought to have been punished by But no notice was taken of it. And if it be true, as was reported, that it was not possible, that the fhip, in which these prisoners were to be sent to Ann rica, could contain provisions sufficient for such a num ber for so long a voyage, I leave the reader to make hi own reflections.

Memoirs of the church of Scotland, p. 304.

Me a

hap. 3. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

Mean while, a letter came down from the King, 1679. ated the 30th of November, ordering the Duke of fork to be admitted to act as a Privy-counsellor in Scot - Duke of Managers readily complied. His Majesty alledged, Councellor hat this was the privilege of the lawful sons and bro-without the oaths.

About this time, John Lord Bargeny, Nephew to the Lord Bar-

Duke of Hamilton, being suspected to favour those con-geny imerned at Bothwel, was imprisoned in Blackness. The prisoned was examined by a Committee, yet nothing was reported; and after all the attempts they made to fasten wilt upon him, they were forced to drop the affair.

On the 18th of December, the council ordered Alex. State of the sta

at and James Balfour, with James Ness, to be farther exa-prisoners.

The bined concerning the Primate's death, and Robert Gar
ock smith in Stirling to lie in prison for farther examiation. Some were released, as John Henderson an old has nan, who had been imprisoned for harbouring his sons fter they had been at what they called the murder.

In the len. Schaw and Rob. Blaw, Geo. Fleming and ——

terk were continued in prison, on suspicion of accession

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terk were continued in prices, be the death of Sharp.

I shall conclude this chapter by just mentioning the Mr. Alexander Wilson Minister Wilson.

I shall conclude this chapter by just mentioning the Mr. Alexander Wilson Minister Wilson.

Cameron, in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, from hich he was ejected with others, which I overlooked sty year. In November 1678, an order was procured by Sharp from the Council, requiring the Magistrates of the secondar to banish Mr. Wilson and his family from the I shall conclude this chapter by just mentioning the Mr. Alex. wn in forty-eight hours, after they received these orers. These orders came to their hand on Saturday, hen at the preparation fermon before the facrament, to dispensed by the episcopal Minister next day; so that ey had patience till Monday, when the Magistrates me to Mr. Wilson's, and intimated their orders to his ife; for he had thought proper to withdraw. They Annual memanded her to leave the town in twenty-four hours. here was no withstanding. Six small children, and ne of them fick, could procure no favour. She reoved to a neighbour's house that very night, and next

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with the utmost difficulty she could get as much of he own furniture as could serve her necessity. And had not been for the Lady Prestonball, Mr. Wilson and his mily must have had no shelter. However, he survive his troubles, and returned to his old flock at Cameron at ter the revolution.

## CHAP. IV.

Of the sufferings of Gentlemen, for not attending the King's host; the repeal of the third indulgence; the Queen's ferry paper; the Sanquhar declaration, and other thing to the skirmish at Airsmoss.

HE affair of Bothwel was improved by the M nagers as a fufficient handle for oppressing ranks of people, who could not, in conscience, confor to Prelacy; for not only the Heritors and Gentleme who were suspected to have countenanced the rising but those who did not attend the King's-host, were gorously prosecuted, together with several others, s nothing but their Nonconformity. They who did n appear before the Circuit-courts, were declared fugitive and the Donators were most severe upon the houses a possessions of those, who were declared fugitives; and, fome places, the enemies of the Presbyterians discover what spirit they were of, when they could act with controul. Thus, from the year 1680 to 1687, not mily was permitted to live in the town of Dundee, by fuch as constantly heard the episcopal Ministers. A this year, Will. Mitchel, John Davidson, John Sterro Eliz. White, and several more, were forced to lea the town on this very account. But I shall, as brid as possible, relate the proceedings in the order time.

Commis-

Accordingly, on the fixth of January the Count gave full power and commission to the Earl of Gla

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. hap. 4. irn, Lord Ross, General Dalziel, or any fit person in 1680. he army, to discover the heritors, who were at Bothwel, the shires of Air, Lanerk, Renfrew and Dumbartoun, idi shand likewise to the Earl of Queensberry, Sir Robert Dalive iel of Glena, Claverhouse, or any two of them, and ich as they should appoint, for the shires of Dumfries d Wigtoun, the stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Annanale. There were the like commissions given to others r other shires; and, doubtless, the Commissioners lted their part.

On the 14th of January, the Council, in consequence Lord Bara petition from John Lord Bargeny (p. 77) ordered geny. m to be brought from Blackness to the Castle of Edinrgh, whenever the Advocate should have his indict-

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On the 29th, they impowered the Earl of Menteith Earl of diffipate the Conventicles in that shire, and appre- Menteith nd and imprison the Preachers, in order to their being ed.

ought to trial.

On the 15th of February, Lord Cardross (p. 48) pre-Lord Carnted a petition to the King, praying that his simple dross's ped liferent escheat might be granted to the Earl of tition, &c. ar. With his petition he presented a paper, intitled short account of his sufferings. The Duke of Lauderhad procured a gift of this for his nephew Mr. Maitd. And when his Lordship's representation had like have some weight, a copy of it was transmitted to e Privy-council, that they might interpose and prevent e King's granting his petition. Accordingly, they tote to his Majesty, and represented Cardross as dissaffted, &c. so that he obtained no redress, but contied under hardships, till the glorious revolution.

Mean while, on the 12th of February, the Council English lianted liberty to such as had a mind to use the Eng-turgy liturgy in their families; but very few were now approved infamilies. npted with this novelty. I shall only observe, that lile the Council were paving the way, for the introaction of the liturgy and ceremonies in Scotland, there is a brave fet of patriots in England, who began, at s time, to talk of reforming it there. And it is cer-

n that the Scots episcopal clergy never received the fervice-

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1680. service-book, till the interest of a POPISH PRETENDIN came to be promoted in the reign of Queen Anne.

Duke of York returned to court.

On the 15th of February, the Duke of York took leave of the Council, and on the 17th fet out for Coun where he appeared on the 24th, and was received with great pomp and fatisfaction by the King. The Coun cil at Edinburgh wrote up a letter full of the highest

comiums on his Royal Highness.

Heritors forfeited

On the 18th, many heritors were forfeited, mostly absence, for their pretended accession to the rebellion The witnesses brought against them were generally spi and foldiers. Mr. Will. Fergusson of Kaitloch, the Land of Earlstoun elder and younger, James Gordon young of Craichlaw, Will. Gordon of Culvennan, Patr. Dun of Machrimoir, and - M'Ghie Larg were all called and, the prepared witnesses swearing to their being on cerned in the rebellion, were forfeited. The reader to observe, that the Laird of Earlstoun was killed, who going to join the West-country army (p. 44.) On the fame day, Patr. M'Donald of Freugh was called, and two witnesses swearing, that they saw him among rebels, was fentenced to be executed when taken, a all his goods, &c. to be confiscated.

Gentlemen fined.

On the 23d, a great number of Gentlemen we brought before the Justiciary for absence from the h and were fined, particularly James Young of Kirktown one thousand eight hundred and seventy pounds, -Pitlochie seven hundred pounds, Alexander Durham Largo one thousand eight hundred and fifty pound Dav. Balcanquel Laird of Balcanquel five hundred pound Alex. Nairn of Samford two hundred and ninety-for pounds, Geo. Moncrief of Redie three hundred pound James Weems in Glencorstoun a hundred and sevent five pounds Scots money, with many more. This w the practice of other meetings of the Justiciary, whom not a few were fined in thousands of pound We shall afterwards find, that this affair of absence for the bost was taken from the Justiciary, and put into hands of the Council.

Bargeny's indi&ment.

On the 24th, John Lord Bargeny was indicted curfing some of the chief nobility, corresponding w

Mr. Welsh and others of that party, maintaining the principles of Naphtali and Lex Rex, and declaring, that it would never be well with Scotland, till Episcopacy was brought down, &c. and therefore ought to be punished with forfeiture of life, &c. In March he was before the Lords of Justiciary, who postponed the affair till the second Monday of June, because the Advocate wanted some of his material witnesses, notwithstanding his pains to produce them, and the prisoner had neglected to give a copy of his letter of exculpation or defence.

The Council on the 6th of March wrote to Alexander Proceed-Mackenzie Sheriff-deputy of the shire of Ross, to use his ings utmost to suppress Conventicles, and to apprehend against Conventing Mr. Denoon and Mr. Hepburn, and dissipate their meet-ticles.

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On the 12th, they wrote to the Earl of Murray on Committee the same subject, and renewed their appointment of a for publick affairs; for there had been none since last year; and accordingly they named Mr. Alex. Burnet Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was translated from Glasgow after Sharp's death, the Marquis of Athol, Earl of Murray, Bishop of Edinburgh, Lord Elphington, &c. or any three of them, to meet, as they shall see it, and take the most effectual methods for suppressing field-conventicles and other disorders, with all the powers the former Committees had. The same day, being informable these meetings abounded especially between the hires of Edinburgh, Berwick and Peebles, they ordered the General to have some of the guards ready to suppress them.

Some time in this month, the Council interposed in W. Pater-ehalf of Will. Paterson, who had the care of the prison. oners whom he drowned at Orkney (p. 76, 77) for reairing the loss he sustained by his shipwreck. Thus a surderer was rewarded, while the innocent were persecuted to death!

On the 8th of April, they wrote to Lauderdale, and Aperferoposed, that, since the Lords of Justiciary were so cuting pronuch engaged in prosecuting the Heritors and Ministers posal. who were in the rebellion, and the absents from the Vol. II.

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feveral persons, for punishing those who frequented Field conventicles, &c. With the letter, they sent up article for the General, by which they moved, that the force might attack the King's enemies, viz. 1. All who were forseited by the Parliament or Criminal-court. 2. All Heritors and Ministerswho had been in the rebellion.

3. Heritors who contributed to it. 4. All rebels who have not took the bond. 5. All such who, though they have took the bond, have been at Field-conventicles since the 27th of July last. 6. All those who have done vio lence to the orthodox clergy. 7. Assassins, especially the murtherers of the Bishop, &c. All these proposals were readily complied with at Court, as we shall hear

The same day James, David and Geo. Sinclairs, and John Baptie in Pancaitland were fined as guilty of Full conventicles, because they heard sermon in a private house,

where some stood without doors.

Mr. Rule fent to the Bass.

At the same time, the revd. Mr. John Rule (after the revolution Principal of the College of Edinburgh) being found guilty of keeping Conventicles and baptizing children without the parish of Prestonbaugh, where h was indulged, and preaching in St. Giles's Church Edin burgh, and baptizing the two children of John Kenneh apothecary, and James Living stone merchant: For the dreadful crimes, the Council deprived him of his Ma resty's indulgence, and sent him to the Bass, till the King's pleasure should be known. He had been Re gent in Glafgow, and afterwards Sub-principal in the King's College at Aberdeen, and before the restoration was Minister at Alnewick in Northumberland; but upon his being ejected by the Bartholomew act, he came down to Scotland, and now was imprisoned. John Kennedy wa fined in one hundred, and James Living fione in two hun dred pound Scots some of sline to have a save reserve

Arthur Dougal, Gc. pri-

On the 18th, one Arthur Dougal, who had been a Bothwel, having been feized by the Earl of Menteil with some papers about him, was ordered to be sent to Edinburgh, as was one Rob. Short for some attempt of Mr. Honnyman Minister at Living stone.

On the 6th of May, Mr. James Ker having preached 1680. at the house of Grange to about five hundred hearers, while some were without doors, was ordered to oblige Mr. Ker. himself to keep no more Conventicles, under the penalty of five thousand merks.

The same day, they wrote to the King, and moved, Garisons that, for the security of the government, and conve-appointed. niency of the forces, the mansion-houses, castles and towers standing on the forfeited estates, might be employed, as he should judge proper. The King thanked them for their care, and ordered them to give out commissions of Justiciary and sufficient warning to the owners of the houses, where the garisons were to be placed. And now I ambrought, in the order of time, to show the rife of new troubles, and of the increase of the persecution; for, on the third of June, Henry Hall of Haughbead (vol. I.

p. 476,477) was feized.

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This Gentleman, during the month of May and be- Mr. Hall ginning of June, was much in company with Mr. Car- of Haughill (vol. I. p. 146, 147, &c.) They kept themselves as private as they could; but at last were discovered and nformed against by Mr. John Park the Curate of Ca-ridden, and the Curate of Borrowstouness; for the Cuates were very diligent in informing against the wanderers. Middleton the Governor of Blackness, who was Papist, came to the house where they were, as if he had been a stranger, and, pretending a great deal of respect for Mr. Cargill, begged leave to drink a glass of vine with them. At last, drawing his sword, he told apprehem, they were his prisoners, and called the house to hended, is affiftance; but none regarded him, except one Thohas George. Mr. Hall struggled hard with the Goveror, till Mr. Cargill made his escape, notwithstanding is being wounded. Mr. Hall would likewise have ot off, but Thomas George knocked him on the lead with the doghead of his carbine, by which he was nortally wounded. However, the townswomen came in body, and conveyed him out of the town. But fuch, vas the nature of his wound, that not being able to walk ar, he fainted, and was obliged to be carried to the ext country house belonging to one Robert Punton. Palziel, in the mean time, whose house at Bins was in

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died.

1680.

the neighbourhood, came with a party of the guards and apprehended him. But though every body faw he was a dying, yet Dalziel would carry him directly to Edinburgh; but he died among their hands, before they go thither. His corps were laid in the Canongate Tobooth for three days without burial; neither could his friends be fuffered to do this last office for him, till at last he was buried in the night time.

When Mr. Hall was taken there was found, in his pocket, an unsubscribed paper called from the place the Queensferry paper, of which shall give the following extract:

Queenfferry paper. Queensferry paper, of which shall give the following extract Extract of the Queensferry Paper. We undersubscribers, for ourselves and all that " shall adhere to us - are resolved - to bind " ourselves with a solemn and sacred bond, —— de " claring those and nothing but those to be our pre-" fent purposes. 1. We covenant and swear, that we " acknowledge and avouch the only true and living "God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to be our God " and that we close with his way of redemption by his "Son Jefus Chrift, — and that we acknowledge the " old and new Testament to be by Divine Revelation and to contain the will of God to man, &c. 2. The " we shall, to the utmost of our power, advance the " kingdom of God (if at any time God shall give u " power) by establishing, throughout the lands, rights " oufness and the true reformed religion in -" doctrine --- worship --- discipline and govern " ment; and that we shall free the land from -" Prelacy on the one hand, - and Erastianism of " the other. 3. That we confess with our mouth an

"believe with the heart, that the doctrine of the re formed churches, especially that of Scotland, contain ed in the Scriptures, summed up in our confession

of faith, and engaged to by us in our Covenants, is the only true doctrine of God; and that we purpose persevere in it to the end. — That we shall ender

" vour, to our utmost, the overthrow of the kingdom of darkness, and whatever is contrary to the king

"dom of Christ, especially Idolatry and Popery — Superstition, will-worship and Prelacy — and Era

" tianism, -- and execute righteous judgment impar

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tially, according to the word of God, and degree of offences, upon the committers of these things especially, to wit, blasphemy, idolatry, atheism, buggery, forcery, perjury, &c. - 5. Seriously considering, that the hand of our Kings and rulers with them hath been a long time against the throne of the Lord, --the power and purity of our religion —— and Christ's reigning over his church, — and that there is no more speedy way of relaxation from the wrath of God (that hath ever lien heavy on us, fince we engaged with HIM) but of rejecting them, who have so manifeftly rejected God, - disclaiming the covenants with God, — governing contrary to all right laws divine and human, — and to all the ends of government, —— feeing they have stopt the course of law and justice —— and have made butcheries and murders on the Lord's people, fold them as flaves, &c. and that upon no other account, but for maintaining Christ's right of ruling over their consciences, against usurpations of Men, for fulfilling their vows, &c. for — 1. Our ancestors neither did, nor could, bind us; they did not buy their liberty and conquest with our thraldom and flavery; —— neither did they bind us to any thing, but to a government, which they esteemed best for the common-wealth and subjects; and when this ceaseth, we are free to chuse another. — 2. The Covenant — only binds us to maintain our King in the maintenance of the true established and covenanted religion; - without the swearing and sealing of which, our fathers, or rather we ourselves, refused to receive him for King, or them for rulers; and —— we are free to reject him upon his renouncing of it. —— 3. Neith: is there any hopes of their returning from these sinful couries — having so often renewed their purposes and promises of persevering in those crimes: and suppose they should dissemble a repentance, --- yet they cannot now be believed, after they have violated all ties, that human wisdom can devise to bind men. And besides, who sees not somewhat of folly to be in this, to think to bind a King that pretends to abso-" lutenes ?

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1698. " lutenfs? - We then do rejett that King, and the " affociate with him in the government from being King and Rulers; - they having altered and d " stroyed the Lord's established religion, overtune 56 the fundamental and established laws of the king dom — and changed the civil government into tyrany. We then do declar that we shall set up, over ourselves, and over wh "God shall give us power of, government and Gove nors according to the word of God, and especial that word Exod. xviii. 21, — that we shall no more commit the government - to any one single po fon or lineal fuccessor, we not being by God, as the " Jews were, bound to one fingle family, - that kin being liable to most inconveniencies, and aptest tode generate into tyranny. - Moreover we declare that those men, whom we shall set over us, shall engaged to govern us, principally by that civil and "dicial law (not that which is ceremonial or typical " given by God to his people of Israel. ——— 6.1 being the work of the Ministers of the Gospel reach — and defend the kingdom of God, and " to preserve the doctrine, discipline, &c. of the same from all corruptions and encroachments of Rulers and se all others; and feeing the greatest part of Minister "were not only defective, in preaching against the ad of the Rulers for overthrowing religion and reformation " but - hindered those who were willing, and censure " some that did it, &c. &c. We declare, that we neith " can nor will hear preaching, nor receive facrament " from any of these Ministry, --- nor from any wh have encouraged and strengthened their hands, b hearing and pleading for them, \_\_\_\_\_ 7. \_\_\_ W declare, that a Gospel Minister is a standing ord nance of God, — and that none of us shall take " upon him the preaching of the Word or administration " of the facraments, unless called and ordained therew And yet separation cannot be imputed to us there is both malice and ignorance in the calumny " for if there be a separation, it must be where the chang ne

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This then is the substance of that paper called, The Remarks. usens serry paper. It was but a rude draught, and unbscribed, and had not been consulted upon by the rest the community. Whether there was just ground, for a severe things said against the Governors at that time, ust be lest with the reader. As to their disowning a King's authority, we shall have occasion to consider at afterwards; but for their taking upon them to alter the form of government, and introduce a new contution, I do not see how to vindicate it; but this ust be said, it was but a rude draught, and the connts of it had never been deliberated upon.

The reader will observe, that, after the defeat at othwell, they who opposed the indulged, kept by emselves, not being able to comply or countenance of that did accept the indulgence: and however they ere blamed for running into beights and excesses, yet is must be said, that some of the greatest lengths, as y author calls them, such as renouncing the authority at then was, in less than ten years after this, had the probation of the whole nation. That in some things ey might have been wrong, who can wonder at it, nsidering the time, in which their lot was cast?

On the 4th of June, the Council enjoined the Ge-Orders to ral to fend a fufficient number of foldiers to Queens-to the General.

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that should be informed against, together with two the Magistrates, who refused to suppress the tumult at other suspected persons, and indemnissed them in case slaughter; and ordered the Advocate to prosecute before the Susticiary Anne Hamilton Lady Gilchrist-clough at James Thomson tenant in Tankertoun parish, for harbouring the murderers of the Archbishop.

P. Walker of Cargill, p. 13, 14.

On the 10th, one Margaret Wauch was brought prisoner from Queensferry for being accessory to M Cargill's escape. When he got out, tho' much wounded during the confusion about Mr. Hall, he retired to fecret place in the fouth fide of the town. A certi woman finding him there, took her head-cloaths a tied up his wounds, and conducted him to James Pa ton's in Carlowrie, where he lay in the barn all night Mrs. Punton gave him some warm milk; and a Su geon, happening to come to the house, dressed his wound General Dalziel came and took James Punton to Kin listoun, where being accused by the Curate for shewing kindness to such a rebel, as he called Mr. Cargill, was carried to Edinburgh, where he lay in prison the months, and paid a thousand merks fine. When Margaret Wauch was the woman who dreffed wounds, I cannot fay.

King's letter and instructions.

The same day, the Council received a letter from King, dated at Windfor the 14th of May last, where his Majesty, after expatiating against Field-convention as the causes of rebellion, and fignifying his resolution preserve the sacred order of Episcopacy, &c. declared, the he was resolved to continue the indulgence for some time but then that he had thought fit to fend these instru tions: 1. They were to fuffer none to preach who h been banished from any parish or corporation in E land; or who, fince the last indemnity, had preach in places constructed Field-meetings, or who could certify their ordination before the 29th of June last, who did not receive their license from them. In sho they were to indulge none upon the north fide of t river Tay. 2. They were to suffer no meeting-house be within a mile of a parish-church, and to pull do fe d

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such as were, especially that at Newbottle. 3. They were 1680. to fuffer none to preach in the parishes where they were formerly Ministers. 4. No indulged Ministers must preach or baptize out of their own parishes, or take upon them to marry any persons, that being restricted to the regular incumbents. 5. None is to be indulged where the generality are regular or orderly, i. e. episcopalian. 6. No indulged Ministers are to be suffered to keep presbyteries or synods, these being the grand nurseries of chism and sedition. 7. The families of irregular ejected Ministers [ fuch as would have none of their INDULGENCES] nust be removed from Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Glasow. 8. As by a former proclamation (p. 49) no nononformists were to preach in Edinburgh and two miles ound it; fo, left that city should be corrupted in its reigion and loyalty, none of these preachers were to be uffered within twelve miles of it; and if the Council ad given any fuch licenses, they were to revoke them. . They were to protect the regular Ministers.

In pursuance of these Instructions, which in effect re- Repealed ealed the indulgence, the council, that same day, re-the indulalled Mr. Johnston's license at Newbottle, and ordered gence. is meeting-house to be pulled down; which was acordingly done; and the timber and feats were fold at en pound sterling; eight pounds six shillings and eight ence was given to the poor of the parish, and the rest the persons employed in executing these orders. neeting-houses in Kilpatrick, Longtoun, Prestonbaugh, Prwal, Ceres, &c. were all ordered to be shut up, and he Council gave an account of their diligence in his

Majesty's service in a letter to the King.

These proceedings bring to my mind, what the Mar-Remarks. uis of Argyle faid to some Ministers when under senence of death (vol. I. p. 96) "My skill fails me, if you who are Ministers, will not either suffer much or sin much; for though you go along with those men in part, if you do it not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer; and if you go not at all with them, you shall but suffer." I do not in the aft question, but many worthy and valuable persons omplied with the indulgence; but they found that no VOL. II. partial

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partial compliances could fatisfy; and as for those who would make no compliances, but refifted even to blood though their fufferings were the most severe, yet they had this for their comfort, stedfastness in their principles

and peace of conscience.

L. Bargeny released.

On the 14th of June, the Advocate appeared against Lord Bargeny (p. 80, 81) and offered an additional libe or accusation, fignifying that his Lordship had spoke in favour of the murder of the Archbishop; but an act of Council was produced ordering him to be fet at liberty, fince he had found bail to appear when called; upon which the process was dropt; for the King had likewik wrote in his favour. He was accordingly released. The whole process was malicious. Bishop Burnet says,

"When he was at liberty, he discovered a conspirant " in which Halton and others were concerned. The

p. 404.

" had practifed on some, who had been in that rebel-" lion, to swear that he and several others were en-" gaged in it, and that they had fent them out to join

" in it. They promised these witnesses a large share in

"the confiscated estates, if they went through in the " business. Depositions were prepared for them; and

"they promifed to fwear to them: upon which a day " was fixed for their trial; but the hearts of these with

" nesses failed them, or their consciences rose upon

" them; fo that when the day came, they could no

66 bring themselves to swear against an innocent man " and they plainly refused to do it." In short, after a practices of this kind, Bargeny was at last released

Such were the times!

After Mr. Cargill escaped at Queensferry, he fled south where feveral of his friends were wandering and con cealing themselves; for the reader must know, that a these wanderers were outlawed and declared rebels. M Richard Cameron and some others, after several meeting among themselves, for forming a declaration and to timony, they were to publish to the world, at last agree upon one; and about twenty persons came in arms the small burgh of Sangubar, where Michael Camer read the declaration at the cross, and left a copy affine there. It is as follows: 1

1680.

The declaration and testimony of the true Presbyterian, Antiprelatick, Anti-Erastian, persecuted party in Scotland, published at Sanguhar, June 22, 1680.

T is not among the smallest of the Lord's mercies Sanquhar to this poor land, that there have always been declaration. " fome, who have given their testimony against every course of defection, we were guilty of, which is a " token for good, that he doth not intend to cast us off altogether, but that he will leave a remnant, in whom he will be glorious, if they, through his grace, keep themselves clean, and walk in his ways and methods, as they have been walked in and owned by our predecessors of truly worthy memory, in their carrying on of our noble work of reformation, in the feveral steps thereof, both from Popery and Prelacy, and likewise from Erastian Supremacy, so much usurped by HIM, who, it is true (fo far as we know) is descended from the race of our Kings; yet he hath so far \* deborded from what \* departed. he ought to have been, by his perjury and usurping in church-matters, and tyrany in matters civil, as is known by the whole land, that we have just reason to account it amongst the Lord's great controversies against us, that we have not disowned him and the men of his practices, whether inferior magistrates or any other, as enemies to our Lord Jesus and his crown, and the true protestant and presbyterian interest in these lands, our Lord's espoused bride and Therefore, altho' we be for government and governors, such as the word of God and our Covenants allow; yet, we, for ourfelves and all that will adhere to us, the representatives of the true presbyterian church, and covenanted nation of Scotland, confidering the great hazard of lying under fin any longer, do, by + thir presents, disown Charles Stuart, who + those; hath been reigning these years bygone (or rather we may say tyrannizing) on the throne of Britain, as having any right, title or interest to, or in, the said crown of Scotland or government, as forfeited several

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1680.

" years fince, by his perjury and breach of covenant " with God and his church, and usurpation of his crown " and royal prerogative, and many other breaches in " matters ecclesiastic, and by his tyranny and breachesin " the very rules of government in matters civil. For " which reasons, we declare, that, several years since, h " should have been denuded of being King, Ruler, a " Magistrate, or of having any power to act, or to be obeyed as fuch. As also we, under the banner of ou " Lord Jefus Christ, the Captain of our falvation, d " declare a war with fuch a tyrant and usurper, and " the men of these practices, as enemies to our Lor " Jesus Christ and his cause and covenant; and again " all fuch, as have any way strengthened him, side " with, or acknowledged him, in his usurpation, in " and ecclefiaftick; yea, and against all such as sha " any wife strengthen, side with, or acknowledge him " or any other in the like usurpation and tyranny; if " more against such, as would betray or deliver up of " free and reformed church, into the bondage of An " christ, the Pope of Rome. And by this, we hom " logate our testimony at Rutherglen the 29th of M " 1679, and all the faithful testimonies of these, the " have gone before us, as also of those who have if " fered of late. Also we do disclaim that declarate " published at Hamilton the 13th of Jane 1679, chief " because it takes in the King's interest, which we a " feveral years fince, loofed from; as also, because "the foresaid reasons, and others, that we may, at " this (if the Lord will) publish. As also, we dife " and refent the reception of the Duke of York ap " fessed Papist, as repugnant to our principles a " wows to the most high God, and as that which ist " great, tho' (alas!) the just reproach of our Chur "We also, by this, protest against bis succeeding to " crown, as against whatever hath been done, or a " are essaying to do, in this land given to the La " in prejudice to our work of reformation. And too " clude, we hope, after this, none will blame us, " offend at our rewarding of those that are against " as they have done to us, as the Lord gives the

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. hap. 3.

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portunity. This is not to exclude any that have de- 1680. clined, if they be willing to give fatisfaction, according to the degree of offence.'

It is scarce worth while, to take notice of the false and Remarks. distinct account given of this matter by Bishop Burnet, p. 511. ho represents those whom he calls Cargillites, as being fted by a strange spirit of fury, and that they affixed heir declaration to the cross of Dumfries, fince it was at angubar, from whence their declaration had its name. nd which exposed them not only to the cruelty of their nemies, but even to the censures of those who should ave been their friends. Though every expression in heir declaration was not so well chosen, yet that which as most cried out against is not incapable of beng defended. They disowned the King's authority; and hey gave their reasons for so doing, viz. his breaking ll his engagements, overturning the constitution both church and state, depriving his subjects not only of heir liberties and properties, but likewise of the free xercile of their religion, by claiming and affuming an biolute, tyrannical and arbitrary government. ers were, as they represented, and the reader is to judge, om the former part of this history, whether they were r not, then it is certain, that the conduct of the whole land, at the revolution, justifies their dislowning the uthority that then was. "It is certainly unlawful, fays Gordon an ingenious modern author, to refift government; but it on Tacitus, vol.I. is certainly lawful to refift the deviation from govern-p. 102. ment. To refift the abuse of government, is to assist government. It is allowed to be just, to help our protectors; but it is equally just to oppose our enemies, mad-men and spoilers. Now, what was Nero, what Calligula and Claudius? the one a bloody idiot, the other an inhuman madman. ——— If their course of cruelties and oppression was government, so are plagues, tempests and inundations; but if their hves and actions were altogether pernicious and detestable, the exterminating such monsters from among men, would have been a fervice to the whole race." And little farther he fays, "What avail laws and liberty p. 105. " ever

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1680.

" ever so excellently framed, when they are at the " mercy of lawless rage and caprice? If we are forbid " by God to defend laws, why do we make them? " it not unlawful to make, what it is unlawful to defend What else is the end of government but the felicity of " men; and why are some raised higher in society that " others, but that all may be happy? - What more " right had Nero to take away the lives of innocent " men than any other affaffin, what more title to the " fortune than any other robber? what better right to " fpill their blood than any other tyger? And is it unlaw " ful to refift robbers and affaffins and beafts of prey! "Did the Almighty ever fay of that beaftly tyran, "Touch not Nero mine ANOINTED, and do h " ruffians no harm?" And as the reverend author of the Hind let loose says, Though it is not the prudence of the management, but the justice of the action, the I would have vindicated from obloquies, yet nothing was wanting but fuccess to justify both. From the whole I think I may affert, that it was from the vigor ous profecution of the principles, upon which these me acted, that the nation owed the revolution, and the hap piness of the protestant succession. It was therefore

Letter and proclama. tion.

and proceed in the history of matters of fact. When the account of the above declaration came toth Council, they wrote to Lauderdale, June 30, wherein, might be expected, they branded these poor people will the names of villains, ruffians, the scum of the people

pity, that they had fo few to take their parts and d

pouse their cause, especially of those who were under

the same covenant engagements with them. Had a

the Presbyterians in Scotland remained united, and cont

nued in opposing Erastianism, as well as Prelacy, none

humanly speaking, would have had occasion to accuse

these men of going beights and lengths, and what not

As for their protestations against the succession of the

Duke of York, it was no more than what was done

those worthy English patriots, who promoted the Bill Exclusion. If the reader want a farther vindication

these men, I must refer him to their own informator

vindication, the Hind let loose and Jus populi vindicatum

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nd the same day published a proclamation, for appreending Mr. Donald Cargil, Mr. Richard Cameron and is brother, Mr. Thomas Douglass, John Vallange, Dan. Macmitchell, Tho. Campbel, John Moodie, Patrick Gamil, fames Stewart, Alex. Gordon, Francis Johnstoun, and of - Crichton; and in order to this, there was not ouragement of all who should be at pains to apprehend the pest shires were to call all, who dwelt with and f their estates, from sixteen years of age and upwards, by swear whether they saw any of these persons, or disovered any lurking or concealing themselves, under the r of

Jointly with this proclamation, they ordered Dalziel Orders to fend out parties to fearch for, and apprehend the last Dalziel. entioned persons, and bring them in, dead or alive, nd to call to his affiftance, any of the nobility and entry, with their dependents, as he should see proper.

The people concerned in the Sanqubar declaration, mutual deerceiving the preparations against them, entered into fence. e following bond of mutual defence, subscribed by Mr. Cloud of ichard Cameron, his brother Michael, Archbald Stuart, Witnesses, obn Potter, and about thirty more, which was found P. 359.

Mr. Cameron when he was killed at Air-moss.

"We under subscribers, bind and oblige ourselves to be faithful to God, and true to one another, and to all others, who shall join with us, in adhering to Rutherglen testimony, and disclaiming the Hamilton declaration, chiefly, because it takes in the King's interest, which we are loosed from, by reason of his perfidy and covenant breaking, both to the most high God, and the people over whom he was fet, upon the terms of his propagating the main ends of the COVENANTS, to wit, the reformation of religion; and instead of that, usurping to himself the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and incroaching upon the liberties of the church; and so stating himself, in opposition to JESUS CHRIST, the Mediator, and the free government of his house; and also in disowning and protesting against the reception of the Duke of York,

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" this land (given to the Lord) in prejudice to our a venanted and universally fworn to reformation. An although, as the Lord, who feartheth the hear

" although, as the Lord, who fearcheth the heat knows we be for government and governors both in and esclepatick fuch as the word of God and

" and ecclefiastick, such as the word of God and or covenants allow; yet, by this we disown the present

"Magistrates, who openly and avowedly are doin what in them lies, for destroying utterly our works

" reformation from *Popery*, *Prelacy*, *Erastianism* and other heresies and errors; and by this we declare also

"that we are not any more to own Ministers indulgated and such as drive a sinful union with them; nor a

" we to join any more in this publick cause with M

" nisters or professors of any rank, that are guilty the defections of this time, until they give satisfa

" tion proportioned to the scandal and offence they has

" given

Process
against
the Earl
of Tweedale, &c.

On the first of July, a process commenced against a Earl of Tweedale for a meeting-house in the town-bar belonging to his Lordship in the town of Innerkeithing but as the barn held of the town, the Earl was acquitted, and the Magistrates fined in 50 l. sterling, while the inhabitants were obliged to pay. The same de Masters Will Row and Jo. Gray, not having a proplicense, were discharged from preaching, and Master Geo. Hamilton and Ja. Rymer, not appearing to answer for their preaching in several places, were denounced a put to the horn.

Gentlemen forfeited.

and his brother Samuel, — Fullartoun of Nether- 1680. mill, Geo. M'Kartney of Blaiket, — Gordon of Garrerie, --- Gordon of Knock-gray, --- Herron of Little-park, Gordon of Holm, Gordon of Overbar, John M'Naught of Culquhad, Murdoch alias Laird Murdoch, Civi and John Benning of Dalvennan. Islam, and many forfeited, whose names are not now known, and many forfeited, whose names are not now known, and many forfeited. And to conclude the affair of he forfeitures. an

My author, from written accounts from Galloway, Estates tells us, that Alex. Hunter of Colqubasben was forfeited, given to ind his estate given to the Countess of Nithsdale a Pa- Papists. oift. Alex. Hay of Ardwallen was likewise forfeited, and his estate given to the same populh family. His mother, pious Gentlewoman of eighty years of age, was imprioned for nonconformity, and her annuity given to the aid popish family. Thus, the Duke of York and his reatures were making way for the introduction of Poery. So low was the reformation brought under the

yranny of Prelacy!

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On the 15th of July, John Niven shipmaster, was pro- John Niecuted for faying at Burntisland, "That the Duke of ' York had been upon a plot, for taking away his Ma-' jesty's life, and had contrived with the King of France, to invade England with an army, and had come to Scotland to make a party and faction, and to introduce Popery." They wrote to London before hey passed sentence, though he was found guilty. At aft, he was condemned to be hanged on the 18th of August; but the King, at the intercession of his dear prother, ordered the fentence to be suspended, and that e continue in prison during pleasure. On the 19th, Alex. Ross was condemned for being in the rebellion; ut, upon his casting himself on the King's mercy, and promising to take the oaths, obtained a remission.

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## CHAP. V.

Of the skirmish at Airsmoss; the execution of Mr. Hackston of Rathillet and others; the Torwood excommunication, with the proceedings of the Council upon it, and other branches of perfecution to the end of the year.

Skirmish at Airs-moss.

TATHILE the foldiers were ranging up and down the country, in quest of the wanderers, a remark. able skirmish happened at Airsmoss in the parish of Au chinleck in Kyle. On the 20th of July, Bruce of Earlful commanding Lord Airly's troop, and Strachan's dragoons, having information from Sir John Cochran d Ochiltree, where Mr. Cameron and several of his followers were, came upon them with great expedition and fury, about four o'clock. Perceiving the enemies approach, and that there was no possibility of escape, Mr. Cameron, after a short prayer, encouraged them to fight in their own defence. The dragoons that came upon them were about 120 men, whereas the perfecuted people were only about 40 foot, indifferently armed and 26 horse. Mr. Hackstown and Mr. Cameron com manded the horse, who all behaved with great bravery; but were overpowered and broken by a vast superioring of numbers; the former was wounded and taken pi foner, and the latter was killed. There were in all nim killed on the spot, viz. Mr. Richard Cameron and hi brother Michael, Captain John Fowler, John Gembly John Hamilton, Rob. Dick, Tho. Watfon, Rob. Paterla in Kirkbill of Camnethan a fingularly pious youth, and Jam. Gray younger of Christoun, who was a youth of good parts and eminent piety. Mr. Cameron was ob ferved to pray, when he had the prospect of this engage ment, Lord take the ripest and spare the greenest, which was evidently to be feen in this pious youth. The following diers owned, he was the person who mauled them most Severa

Several were wounded. — Manuel of Shots died of his 1680. wounds, as he entered into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, John Vallange died in the like manner on the day following. Archibald Alison in the parish of Evandale and John Malcom in the parish of Dalry were taken prisoners, as was one John Pollock, who was put in the boots, and endured the torture with great sirmness and resolution, and afterwards banished. Bishop Burnet was misin- p. 511.

formed, in faying that Mr. Cargil was taken here.

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When Mr. Cameron was killed, his head and hands Treatment were cut off by Robert Murray, and carried in to the of Mr. Council, who ordered them to be fet up on the Nether- Cameron. bow-port in Edinburgh. It is faid, that Earlshall gave a guinea for this piece of service. John Fowler's head was ftruck off through mistake, instead of Michael Cameron's. When Earlshall came to Edinburgh, he ordered the heads to be taken out of the bag, in which they were carried, and put them upon a halbert, and tarried them to the Council. The foresaid Robert Murray said, There is the head and hands that lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting. neron's father being in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, they parried them to him to add to his forrow, and enquired f he knew them. He took his fon's head and hands and kissed them, and said, I know them, they are my son's, ny dear son's. It is the Lord, good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and nercy to follow us all our days. Mr. Cameron's head was ixed on the port, and his hands by his head, with his ingers upward.

Thus, the famous Mr. Cameron fell a facrifice to preatick fury, and died a martyr for religion and liberty. It was from him that these tossed and persecuted people were afterwards nick-named Cameronians. He was a zeaous preacher, not only against prelacy, but also against the ndulgence, following the example of Mr. John Welwood and Mr. John Kid. For a farther account of him, the eader may consult P. Walker's remarkable passages of is life, who was a sufferer in this period, and the apendix to the Cloud of Witnesses. Mr. Cargil, the Sab-

ath following, preached from 2 Samuel, iii. 38.

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On the 23d of July, Mr. Rule (p. 82) was ap. 1680. pointed to be fet at liberty, upon giving a bond of

5000 merks to leave the kingdom in eight days. Accordingly, he went abroad, studied physick, and took his degrees. After which, he came and lived in Ber. wick, where he was very useful. While there, the Earl of Hume formed a design to apprehend him, because, when visiting the Laird of Houndwood's family, he expounded a chapter, which was constructed a keeping of a Conventicle; but he very providentially escaped, tho' Houndwood was fined in a hundred merks. See the account given of him by the reverend and worthy Dr. Calamy in his abridgement of Baxter's Life, vol. II. p. 517.

On the 24, the Magistrates of Glasgow were ordered to turn all the nonconformist preachers out of the le town, and fuffer none of them to live within a mile

of it.

Mr. Rathillet carried thorough Edinburgh.

The same day, being innformed of the taking of Rathillet and the other prisoners, they ordered the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to receive him at the water-gut, and fet him on a bare horse, with his face to his tail, ke and his feet tied under his belly, and his hands tied with em ropes; that the executioner go before him covered, carid,
rying Mr. Cameron's head on a halbert, and leading the
thorse up the high street to the common prison; that the
three other prisoners be conducted on foot bare-headed
after him, with their hands tied to a goad of iron; that
no meat be given to Hackstoun, but what should be prepared by the master of the jail, nor any permitted to a
speak with him, or any letters conveyed to him.

Examined In a letter to his friend, he says, that he was carried his before the up to the Parliament closs, and brought before the Council. Cloud of 1. Chancellor read an indianate of the Chancellor read an ind cil, where the Chancellor read an indictment again .3 where the Council. Cloud of Witnesses, him, first concerning the Bishop's murder, to which he answered, that he was obliged, by no law, either of Go train or man, to answer to it, either by accusing himself, or impeaching others. Being asked, if he thought it mur might der, he told them, that he was not obliged to answer me, such questions, yet he would not call it so, but rather say it was no murder. Being surther asked, if he owner with th

ne King's authority, he replied, that though he was 1680. ot obliged to answer, yet being permitted to speak, he rould fay fomething to that; and first, "That there could be no lawful authority, but what was of God; and that no authority stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God, and that he knew of no authority nor justiciary this day in these nations, but what were in a direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God, nor lawful, and that their fruits were \* kything it, in that they were fetting bougerers, \* shewing. murderers, forcerers, and fuch others, at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and

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made it their whole work to oppress, kill and destroy the Lord's people." This enraged the Chancellor and he rest, so that they required him to give an instance. He answered, "Though it were enough to instance any nile such, when he saw a Judicature to execute justice, yet he would instance one; and accordingly mentioned Raa bougerer released at the Sheriff-court of Fife and employed in their fervice; and offered to prove it, aginotwithstanding all their rage." Bishop Paterson gate, tail ked, If ever Pilate and that Judicature, who were direct with emies to Christ, were disowned by him as Judges? He id, he would answer no perjured Prelate in the nation. the aterson replied, he could not be called perjured, since the had never took that facrilegious COVENANT. Mr. add lackstown told him, that God would own that Covethat ANT, when none of them were to oppose it. A good pre cal more passed to the same purpose, which the reader ed to ay see in the Cloud of Witnesses. Notwithstanding his old and open answers, he was threatened with torture, rried hich he no way regarded.

Cound On the 26th, the affair of absence from the King's bost Gentlemen gain 34, 35) was taken out of the hands of the Justiciary, fined for the d put into those of the Council, which was a more ar-Go trary Court; and the following Gentlemen, viz. Dun-hoft. If, ous of Borthwick, the Laird of Riddel, Geo. Douglass of mu mjedburgh, Ker of Cherrytrees, James Scot of Thirlesniw ne, Francis Scot of Greenhill, P. Wardlaw, Rob. Brown rathe Blackburn, Pringle of Greenknows, Alex. Hume of St. wne athans, Sam. Spence, Clappertoun of Wyliecleugh, Gea.

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Hume of Bassenden were fined in above 2201 t. sterlin Many others were fined for the same cause; and about the end of this year, the Council ordered all found guil of absence to be kept, for the future, in custody, till the fines be discharged.

Mr. Rathillet declined the King's authority, &c.

Mr. Ratbillet was again before the Council this day and answered much to the same purpose, as before, an on the 27th was before the Justiciary, when, as he fan himself in another letter to his friend, " he declined "King's authority, as an Usurper of the prerogative

" of the Son of God, whereby he had involved to " lands in idolatry, perjury, and other wickedn

" neffes, and declined THEM (as exercifing und

" HIM the supreme power over the church usure " from Jesus Christ) who, in carrying on their design

" of confirming themselves, in their usurpations of " crown of Christ, had shed so much innocent blow

" through the land, and therefore he durst not, wi " his own confent, fustain them as competent judge

" but declined them as open and stated enemies to the

" Living God, and competitors for his throne at

" power belonging only to him."

What poffed when he received bis fentence.

On the 20th, the day before he was brought to h trial, the Council, in a most unprecedented manner, a pointed the manner of his execution. On Friday th 30th, being again brought before the Justiciary, and ing asked if he had any thing more to say, he answered That which I bave faid, I will SEAL it. Then they tol him, that they had fomething to fay to him; and com manded him to fit down and receive his fentence, which he did; but told them, " they were all murderen " for all that power they had was derived from tyrann " and that these years bygone, they had not only to " rannized over the church of God, but had a " grinded the faces of the poor; so that oppression

" bloodshed, perjury, and many murders were to

" found in their fkirts."

His execution.

\* Alder-

2 7.

Upon this, he was condemned, and carried from bar to the place of execution. None were suffered to with him but two of the \* Bailies, the executioner, and fervants. He was permitted to pray; but not to speak

the people. His right hand was first struck off, and a 1680. ttle after, his left; which he endured with great firmes and constancy. The hangman being long in cutng off his right hand, Mr. Hackstoun desired him to rike in the joint of the left; but spoke no such thing Bishop Burnet represents; he says, "That when his p. 511. hands were cut off, he asked, like one unconcerned, if his feet must be cut off likewise." He was next rawn up to the top of the gallows, with a pulley, and, ys the Cloud of Witnesses, was suffered to fall down a Pref. 4th ery confiderable way, upon the lower scaffold, three Ed. p. 18. mes with his whole weight; then he was fixed at the p of the gallows, and the executioner with a rge knife, cutting open his breaft, pulled out his eart before he was dead; for it moved when it fell n the scaffold. He then stuck his knife in it. ewed it on all fides to the people, crying, Here is the eart of a traitor. At last threw it in a fire prepared on irpofe, with his other inwards; and having quartered s body, his head was fixed on the Netherbow, one of s quarters, with his hands, at St. Andrews, another at lasgow, a third at Leith, and a fourth at Bruntisland. hus fell David Hackstoun of Ratbillet, Esq; a Gentlean related to some of the principal families in Scotland, id a Person of eminent piety and courage.

On the 4th of August, John Malcolm in the parish of Two more alry, in Galloway, and Archibald Alison in the parish of executed. vandale in Clydsdale, two other prisoners taken at irsmoss, were sentenced to be hanged on the 11th inent in the Grass-market, which was executed accordgly. Their testimonies are both in the Cloud of Wit-Tes; wherein they shewed the reasons of their conduct, d declared their constant adherence to the covenanted ork of reformation, against Popery, Prelacy, Erastiism and Tyranny. Thus all the prisoners taken at Airs-Is were executed, except John Pollock as above. Mean while on the faid 4th of August, another Com- Another

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ttee for publick affairs was appointed, consisting of the Committee tchbishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Linlithgow, the for pubhop of Edinburgh, the President, Collingtoun, Lundin, fairs. ddry, the officers of state, or any three of them, with

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vours, for discovering those concerned in *Bothwel*, we enforced with new orders. The reader perhaps me think it tiresome to pursue the various and repeated continuitions granted, in order to apprehend those concerns in the late rising.

Soldiers fent to oppress the country.

During these things, many parties of foldiers we fent through the country, to quarter in the West a South, to be in readiness, when any of the persecun party were heard of; and none of them was mo eager than one Captain Inglis, in fearching for the who had been hearers of Mr. Cameron or Mr. Cargi Robert Cannon of Mardogat, once a professor, was ve useful to the foldiers in discovering the lurking places the poor wanderers. And about this time, he was ma Collector of the cess and excise in Carsphairn and neighbourhood; and as he was pretty much acquaint fo when the foldiers feized suspected persons, Cannon w fent for, and they were kept or let go according to direction. Courts likewise were held at New Gallon and other places, for the trial of those, who had them fortune to fall into their hands; but as the heritors we not very cordial in these things, the officers of the am took the work upon themselves, and put many to h oath in a most arbitrary and unprecedented manner.

In consequence of the opinion of the last made committee on the first of September, Mr. James Ker and Marthur Dougal were ordered to be released upon but Mr. John Dickson, late Minister of Rutherglen, where first to prison at Edinburgh, and from thence to the prison of the continual section.

Bass, where he continued several years.

By a letter from the King of the third, the commpeople, who had been concerned in *Bothwell*, had to first of *March* next to take the *bond*; but Heritors, insters, Ringleaders, &c. were still excepted.

Torwood'sexcommunication.
Hind let
loofe,
p. 153,

Mr. Cargill was, now the only person that ventue to preach in the fields, notwithstanding the sanguing laws against that practice, and who prosecuted the se mony for religion and liberty in that manner, and of sidering all the preachings, protestations and declarate against the wickedness and tyranny of those, that had iministration of the government in their hands; and 1680. at both the defensive arms of men, and the christian arms prayers, &c. had been used, yet that of ecclesiastical cenre had not been authoritatively exerted; therefore, tho could not have the concurrence of his brethren to rengthen the folemnity of the action, yet he did not think at defect, in this broken state of the church, could dif le his authority, or lessen the duty. Acordingly, in Sepnber or October this year, he had a large meeting at e Torwood in Stirling shire, when he pronounced the sennce of EXCOMMUNICATION against some of the most olent perfecutors of that day, as formally as the prefent ate of things could permit. And in doing this, he we them the ordinary names by which they were cald, that all might know, who the persons were.

After he had lectured upon Ezek. xxi. 25, 26, 27, and eached from 1 Cor. v. 13, he discoursed a little conrning the nature of excommunication, and declaring at he was not acted from any spirit of revenge, but erely from the constraint of conscience, he then pro-

unced the following fentence:

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" I being a Minister of Jesus Christ, and having au- Sentence of thority and power from him, do, in his name, and excomby his spirit, excommunicate, cast out of the true munication church, and deliver up to Satan CHARLES II. against the King, &c. and that upon the account of these KING. grounds following: 1. For his high mocking of Cloud of Witnesses, God, in that, after he had acknowledged his own p. 367. fins, his father's fins, his mother's idolatry (vol. I. p. 42, &c.) he hath, notwithstanding, gone on more avowedly in those sins, than all that went before him. 2. For his perjury, in that after he had, twice at least, solemnly subscribed that Covenant, he did so presumptuously renounce, disown, and command it to be burned by the hands of the hangman. 2. Because he hath rescinded all laws for establishing of that religion and reformation engaged to in that Covenant, and enacted laws for establishing its contrary; and is still working for the introducing Popery into \* thir lands. 4. For commanding of armies to de- \* thefe, stroy the Lord's people, who were standing in their VOL. II. " own

Vol. I

16

1680. p. 368.

own just defence, and for their privileges and right against the tyrannies, oppressions and injuries of men and for the blood he hath shed in fields, on scaffold and in the feas, of the people of God, on account religion and righteousness (they being most willing) all OTHER THINGS to render bim obedience, if he ha " reigned and ruled them according to his Covenant and " Oath) more than all the Kings, that have been by " fore him in Scotland. 5. That he hath been still a " enemy to, a persecutor of, the true Protestants, as " vourer and helper of the Papifts, both at home an " abroad; and hath hindered, to the utmost of h " power, the due execution of just laws against them " 6. For his relaxing of his kingdom, by his freque " grant of remissions and pardons for murderers (white " is in the power of NO KING to do, being expresly a " trary to the law of God) which was the ready way " embolden men in committing of murders, to " defiling the land with blood. Laftly, to pass by " other other things, his great and dreadful uncleann " of adultery and incest, his drunkeness, his dissemble " with God and man, and performing his promi " where his engagements were finful, &c. Next,

The Duke of York.

"By the same authority, and in the same name, excommunicate, &c. JAMES Duke of York, &c. 1

"that for his idolatries (for I shall not speak of a other sins, but what have been perpetrate by him "Scotland) and for setting up idolatry in Scotland,

"defile the Lord's land, and his enticing and

" couraging others to do fo, &c.

Duke of Mon-mouth.

"Next, in the fame name, &c. I excommunicate, "JAMES Duke of Monmouth, &c. for coming is Scotland, upon his father's unjust command, and is

"ing armies against the Lord's people, who were a strained to rise, being killed in and for the right work

" ping of the true God; and for his refusing that morn

" at Bothwel Bridge, a cessation of arms, for hearing redressing their injuries, wrongs and oppressions, & Next, I do, by the same authority, &.

" communicate, &c. John Duke of Lauderdale, for his dreadful blasphemy, especially that

Duke of Lauder-dale.

to the Prelate of St. Andrews, Sit thou at my right 1680. band, until I make thine enemies thy footstool; his atheistical drolling on the Scriptures of God, scoffing at religion and religious persons; his apostacy from the Covenant and reformation, and his perfecuting thereof, after he had been a professor, pleader, and presser thereof; for his perjury in the business of Mr. James Mitchel (vol. I. p. 423, 424) - for his adulteries and uncleanness; for his counselling and affifting the King in all his tyrannies, overturning and plotting against the true religion; for his gaming on the Lord's Day, and for his usual and ordinary curling."

In the fame manner he pronounced fentence against he Duke of Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie the King's

dvocate, and Thomas Dalziel of Bins.

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After he had pronounced the above fentences of ex. Memoirs

ommunication, he went on as follows:

" I think, none that acknowledge the word of God, Scotland, the power deputed to the church, and the reason and p. 282. nature of that power, can judge this sentence to be unjust. The pretence of its being unformal, without warnings, admonitions,  $\mathcal{C}c$ . is fully answered, in that those men have placed themselves above the admonitions of Ministers, have repelled all due warnings, and wickedly put to cruel deaths the fervants and Ministers of Christ, who have, with freedom and boldness, adventured to give them warnings and admonitions, and thut up all access from us, that remain, to do the like; and as for proof of the fact p. 383. I have here charged upon them, it needeth none, the deeds being nottour and known, and the most of them fuch as themselves do avow, and, to their shame, boast of. And, as the causes are just, and such as for which the Ministers of Christ have, in all ages, proceeded to the like fentence, fo, it being now done by a Minister of the Gospel, and in such a manner as the present circumstances of the church of Christ, with respect to the present cruel persecution, will admit, the fentence likewise is undoubtedly just, also: and there are no powers on earth, either of Kings,

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1680. "Princes, Magistrates, or Ministers of the Gospel, can without the repentance of the persons openly and a gally appearing, reverse these sentences upon an

" fuch account. And as God, who is the author of the power, is the more engaged to the ratifying of the

"fentences, fo all that acknowledge the Word of God
and believe themselves subject to his government

" ought also to acknowledge them.

"If any shall object, as we hear they do, that the proceedings, though not unjust, are foolish and in

" gorous; we answer with that word of Scripture, who we have much more reason to use, than those

" whom it is recorded, Gen. xxxiv. 31, Should be de with our fifter as with an harlot? Should they de

"with our God as with an idol? Should they deal with his people as with murderers and malefactors? And ha

"we not draw outGod's fword against God's enemies?

Remarks.

It is not my province either to condemn or vindica this action, which not only exposed the sufferers to the greater fury of their persecutors, but also to the census of their friends, nay, and exposed the whole body the Presbyterians to the ridicule and scorn of their en mies; though nothing is more certain, than that the were neither confulted in it nor approved of it. How ever, the following queries are fubmitted to the reader Had not the persons, against whom the sentence w pronounced, been guilty of all that was laid to the charge? Was not Mr. Cargill an approved Minister the Gospel? Can it be said that Kings and Princes a not subject to the censures of the Church? It is plan the Church of England approves of the excommunic tion of royal persons if they deserve it, as may be set from their homilies, which are recommended by the 35 article. Thus in that homily of the right use of the church part 2d, it is faid, "And according to this examp

Edition printed at London, 1738.

p. 172,

part 2d, it is faid, "And according to this example of our Saviour Christ, in the primitive church, which was most holy and godly, and in the which, due is cipline, with severity, was used against the wicked

openoff enders were not suffered once to enter intothe

" house of the Lord, nor admitted to common pray" and the use of the holy sacraments, with other to

« christian

CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

109 christians, until they had done open penance before the 1680.

173.

whole church. And this was practifed not only upon mean persons, but also upon the rich, noble, and mighty persons, yea, upon Theodosius that puissant and mighty EMPEROR, whom, for committing a

grievous and wilful murder, St. Ambrose Bishop of Milan reproved sharply, and did also excommunicate the faid EMPEROR, and brought him to open penance. And they that were so justly exempted and banished

(as it were) from the house of the Lord, were taken (as they be indeed) for men divided and separated from Christ's church, and in most dangerous estate. Yea, as St. Paul faith, even given unto Satan the De-

vil for a time; and their company was shunned and avoided by all godly men and women, until fuch time as they, by repentance and publick pennance,

were reconciled.'

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ed th hap. 3:

Here then is the excommunication of a puissant and lighty Emperor, and his being brought to open pen-

ance approved of by the Church of England.

From this the reader must judge for himself, how ill becomes the bigh flyers to make the Torwood-excomunication a matter of reproach to all Presbyterians, ven upon the supposition that they had approved of it, d whether that action was so unprecedented, as some ould represent it. As for the formality and seasonablees of it at that time, I must refer him to what Mr. argill fays himself, and to his own reflection.

Next Lord's-Day, Mr. Cargill preached at the Fal-His ferwhill in the parish of Living stone; and in the preface, mon next Sabbath. id, "I know, I am and will be condemned by many P. Walfor what I have done, in excommunicating these ker in wicked men; but condemn me who will, I know I Cargill, p. am approven of God, and am perfuaded, that what 9, 10. I have done on earth is ratified in heaven; for if ever I knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any piece of my generation work, it was in that; and I shall give you two signs, whereby you may know I am in no delusion. 1. If some of these men do not find that fentence binding upon them, ere they go off the stage, and be not obliged to confess

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1680. " it from their terror and to the affrightment of other 2. If these men die the ordinary death of men, the "God never fent me, nor spoke by me.". The first these was verified in the Duke of Rothes; and the second in the remarkable exit of most of those who were excom municated. But perhaps I may have been too long of this: I therefore now go on to relate the subsequen occurrences, as much as possible in the order of time which they happened.

del apprebended,

In the month of September, Mr. Archibald Riddel M nister, brother to the Laird of Riddel, together wit Turnbul of Know and the Laird of Down, were appre hended by the Laird of Graden and fent in prisoners the jail of Jedburgh. The Council ordered Meldrum bring them into Edinburgh, and recommended Grade to the Lords of the treasury for the reward offered the Council's proclamation for taking Mr. Riddel.

bis examination.

On the first of October, he was examined before a Com mittee of the Council, and owned, that, though he ha not preached in the fields fince the indemnity, yeth had preached in private houses, where there we people without doors, which, by the laws then in being was constructed to be a Field-conventicle. He declin giving his oath upon this, fince oaths were tender things neither would he engage not to preach in the fields it the future, though he had refrained from that practi for some time past; for, said he, "I have not, in "the indemnity, judged myself under a necessity in preach out of a house; but I know not, but he, the " has called me to preach this while bygone in hould

" may, before I go out of the world, call me to prea " upon tops of mountains, yea, upon the feas; and "dare not come under any engagements to disobey " calls." And when further urged upon this point,

faid, "Both conformed and indulged have preached " the fields without offence; as, when their church

" have been ruinous, or otherwise, they could not co " veniently preach in the church, they have done it list

" the church-yard." To this the Advocate faid, " " fuch cases as these, 'tis not constructed to be again not law." Mr. Riddel replied, "But then, my Low and

" law." Mr. Riddel replied, " But then, my Lo 66 W

what shall I do with my engagement, never to 1680.

preach in the fields, to know whether it shall be conftructed against law or not? Your Lordship will not
allow me to explain or put a construction upon my engagement myself." Not being able to answer this, he advocate faid, that if he was of Mr. Riddel's priniples, he would judge it his duty rather to go out of he nation, than difturb the peace of the land by acting contrary to its laws.

I shall not trouble the reader any further on this, than Remarks. o observe, that Mr. Riddel was none of the followers f Mr. Cargill; nay, he expresly owned the King's authoity, and disapproved of those who were otherwise hinded; he had never been in what they called rebelon; so that all they could lay to his charge was his reaching in houses, when people were without doors, nd his refusing to engage not to preach in the fields for he future; and yet, after this examination, he was fent ha back to prison. We shall meet with him afterwards.

we differ at Westruther, was summoned to appear for preach- Veitch of without a licence, and not appear for preach- Veitch ng without a licence, and not appearing, was ordered denounced. o be denounced and put to the horn. The fame day Francis Grier, who had been five months in prison for odging, for one night, two of his friends who had been t Bothwel, was ordered to be released upon signing the ond. One William Panton, who had been in prison for arbouring Mr. Cargill, was released upon giving a bond of a thousand pounds to answer when called.

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Lor 6 Wh

The time of the English parliament's sitting now drew The Duke lear, when another attempt was to be made against the of York Duke of York. In order to prepare the way for this, Sent to he Earl of Shaftsbury, attended by twelve Lords and Rapin. Gentlemen of note, went publickly to Westminster-ball; ind at the King's bench bar, by a bill in form, presented he Duke of York as a popish recusant. This action so urprized the three principal Ministers, that, to engrafate the King with the Parliament, they advised him to end his Royal Highness into Scotland, believing it would ot be in his power to support him, if he continued in England during the festion. The King approving of their

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1680. reasons, obliged the duke to return to Scotland, aftern peated affurances, that he would never forfake him.

The King, however, fays my author, gave anoth turn to this in his letter to the Council at Edinburg dated Oftober 23, acquainting them, that he was to fen down his brother for the better dispatch of affairs amon them; and the Chancellor letting them know that he to land at Kirkaldy, and be at the house of Lessly, till Abbay should be fitted up for his reception; they order all the Counsellors on the fouth of Aberdeen to wait his Highness on his arrival, that there may be all ma ner of demonstrations of joy.

lands and is careffed by the orthodox

clergy.

Accordingly, on the 25th of October, the Duke a Dutchess arrived in Kirkaldy road, and repaired to Le house, where they continued till the 29th, when the came to the Abbay of Holyroodhouse. On Saturday, t Bishop of Edinburgh, with the clergy in town, waite upon him, and expressed the general satisfaction of orthodox clergy at his arrival. But where the orthodox was in careffing a popish Prince, retiring from the rese ments of an English PROTESTANT Parliament, must left with the protestant reader. But it is well know that the prelatical clergy in Scotland, for all their orth doxy, were not only at this time, but have ever fin been the abettors of Popery. Who complimented the popish Prince upon the birth of his spurious Impostor PRETENDER? The orthodox clergy. Who were the gro enemies of the revolution in Scotland? The orthod Who the great opposers of the protestant in cession? The orthodox clergy. Who the great encoun gers of rebellions fince the protestant line happily to place? The irregular successors of the same orthon clergy, who almost to a man are attached to a pop PRETENDER to this very day. It is not worth wh to take notice of the Council's fulfom letter to the King on this occasion, dated November the 2d, and signed twenty-seven Counsellors and three or four protest BISHOPS. Only the receiving and careffing of the Du of York in Scotland, when a fet of brave patriots in E land were exerting themselves, to the utmost, to g him excluded from succeeding to the English throne, w fly condemned by the poor persecuted sufferers, who 1680.

portunity to relate.

On this second of November, the Earl of Murray's Earl of mmission to be sole Secretary of State, was read in Murray ouncil, Lauderdale having resigned that Office into his made Secretary, lajesty's hands, after he had possessed it twenty years. Shop Burnet, in describing his character, says, that p. 102. His great experience in affairs, his ready complyance with every thing, that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate Counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold."

From a process between Meldrum and Philiphaugh it Oppress.

From a process between *Meldrum* and *Philiphaugh*, it *Opprespeared* that many oppressions and wrong imprison-sions ents had been committed by the former, insomuch that, a moderate computation, he had levied from the

re of Teviotdale a hundred thousand pounds.

On the 11th of November, the Council proceeded Probibited ainst the encouragers of prohibited books, such as aphtali, Jus Regni apud Scotos in English, Jus Populi adicatum, Reformed Bishop, Calderwood's History. John lderwood stationer, was imprisoned for having some these books in his shop. All stationers and booklors were ordered to produce the lists of what books ey imported from abroad, in order to have the approtion of one of the officers of state, or of the Bishop of dinburgh.

About this time, Mr. James Skene, brother to the Mr. aird of Skene in the shire of Aberdeen, was apprehended Skene, a hearer of Mr. Cargill. This Gentleman had not prehended. en concerned either at Bothwel, Airsmoss, or the Torbod excommunication; and nothing but his hearing r. Cargill could be laid to his charge. The Council et on the 13th of November, upon receiving notice that e General had sent in some prisoners. Mr. Skene, schibald Stuart, and John Spreul apothecary in Glas-

were examined before them.

Vol. II.

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Mr.
Spreul's sufferings,

Mr Spreul's troubles began foon after Pentland, the year 1667, he was feized by a party at Paisty, cause he would not discover where his father was; after many terrible threatnings of being shot to de roasted at a fire, and some short confinement, he wast missed at that time. In the 1677, he and others w fummoned before a Court at Glasgow, and because absconded, was intercommuned. Then he went abro and was in Ireland 1679; from whence he came to & land after the skirmish at Drumclog; and though hel occasion to be in company with some of the West-com army, yet he did not join them. After Bothwel, wife and family were turned out of their house and in while he, after concealing himself for some time, w over to Holland. He came back this year, with a fign to carry his family to Rotterdam; but on the n of November was taken out of his bed at Edinburgh Major Johnston, and was carried to the guard at Abbay, where Mr. Shene and Archibald Stuart w prisoners.

bis exami-

Next day he was examined before the Council, a cerning his opinion of the death of the Archbishop, his accession to Drumclog and Bothwel. As to the form he faid, he was in Ireland at that time, and knew noth of it but by hearfay, and could not judge of other m actions upon hearfay; that for himself, he would have done it, and did not approve of it, and defired be excused from going any farther; because he scrup to condemn, what he could not approve, fince the might be a righteous judgment of God, where the was a finful hand of man, and he might admire adore the one, while he trembled at the other. As Drumclog, he declared he was then in Ireland, where first received the account of it; but did not think rebellion, fince he owned the freedom of preaching Gospel, and heard, that what they did, was only self defence. He further owned, that upon his ren from Ireland, he had occasion to go through part of West-country army, but did not join them; and said, he would not call that rifing rebellion, fince he thou it was a providential necessity put upon them for the

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DUE th n fafety, after Drumclog. He refused to subscribe his 1680. nfession.

The Council pretending that there was plot carrying is put to by Mr. Cargill, Mr. M'Ward and others, for mur- the toring the King, subverting the Government, and that ture. . Spreul and Robert Hamilton were accessary to it, de an act on the 13th of November, ordering them to examined by torture as to these things, and impowered Earls of Argyle, Linlithgow, &c. as a Committee to mine them. But the reader may be affured, that re was nothing in this plot but in their own imaginais: however, it was proper that they should have nething to fay. The Duke of York was pleafed to atify his eyes with this delightful scene, and so houred Mr. Spreul with his royal presence. The poor ntleman told them, he could fay no more than he had d before the Council, &c. but there was no help for n. The hangman put his foot into the instrument led the Boot, and, at every question, gave about five okes on the wedges. The queries were, Whether he w any thing of a plot to blow up the Abbay and the ke of York? Who was in the plot? Where was Mr. rgill? To all which he declared his absolute ignorance. hen nothing could be discovered, they ordered the boot to be brought, and made him undergo the tore a second time. He still adhered to what he forrly faid. Dalziel complained, that the hangman did t strike hard enough, and was therefore offered the ll by the executioner to do it himself. When the tore was over, he was carried to prison on a soldier's ck; but was refused the benefit of a surgeon, and the asure of seeing his wife. However, he recovered, I shall have occasion to speak more of him afterrds.

What passed at the examination of Mr. Skene, is re- Mr Skene ed in a letter from himself to his brother, recorded in before the Cloud of Witnesses. He declared, he was not at Council. thwel; but that he owned the SANQUHAR declaration, d the testimony of Rutherglen, and disowned the King's thority, so far as it was against the COVENANT and terest of Christ. Archbald Stuart, John Spreul, of

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1680. whom I have now spoke, and one Harvey a serva maid in Borrowstonness, were likewise before them.

On the 15th the Commissioners reported, that the had examined Archibald Stuart by torture. They we ordered to be further examined; and Advocates we on the 18th appointed to plead for Mr. Skene, who we brought before the Justiciary on the 22d, and condemned to be hanged on the 24th, and his head to afterwards severed from his body; but the last pant his sentence was dispensed with, and he was reprieved the first of December.

John Potier, &c. condemned. Mean while, John Potter farmer in Uphall in Westlotihan, and Archbald Stuart of Borrowstounness (the latter was at Airsmoss, but the former had not been arms) were both before the Justiciary, and condemne to be hanged on the first of December, along with Me Skene.

Mr. Skene.

Their testimonies are all in the Cloud of Witnesse Mr. Skene, in his last testimony, after having laid he blood on his persecutors, declared against receiving the Duke of York, and against every thing that had be done against the Covenants, and the work of reformation and concluded his testimony much in the same strawith Mr. Hugh M'Kail (vol. 1. p. 237.);

Archbald Stuart was reported to have said, that

Arch. Stuart.

last testimony he says, "However I and that suffering "remnant be mistaken, in that they give out in the "declaration, That I said, I would kill the King or as "of his Council; it is an untruth and forged calumny to reproach the ways of God, more like themselve and their own principles, who have killed so man of the people of God, both in the sields and upon scaffolds, and us among the rest, to please that blood "Tyrant Charles Stuart's BROTHER—, and to make

would kill the King or any of his Council; but in h

"men believe that we have been contriving a plot of to murder them, &c." On the scaffold he sung Phi ii. and read Malachy iii. but when in prayer he begat to say, "O Lord, what will thou do with this general

" stuart?" Immediately the drums were beat.

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John Potter's testimony is large and particular; but 1680. hen speaking of the enemies of God, and the persefors of his people, he faid, among other things, " I John pray that the Lord would open your eyes, that you Potter. may fee your fins, turn from them and live. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done or can do to me. But for the wrongs done to Christ, in robbing him of his right over his church and people, I know vengeance belongs to God, and he will repay them; therefore I leave them under process ay and while they repent. And now I begin to enjoy him who is invisible," &c.

While these acts of severity were carrying on in Scot- Exclusion nd, the parliament of England met on the 21st of Oc-Bill, ber, and on the 26th, Lord Russel moved that they Rapin. ight, in the first place, take into consideration how to ppress Popery and prevent a popish Successor. He was tonded by Sir Henry Capel, brother to the Earl of Es-. And after feveral warm debates, it was refolved, at a bill be brought in to disable the Duke of York to

herit the imperial crown of this realm; and after a eat deal of reasoning pro and con, the exclusion-bill iffed the house by a great majority. William Lord ussel, attended by the Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Ca-, and almost the whole house of Commons, carried

e bill to the house of Lords, where it miscarried by a periority of 63 against 30. Bishop Burnet says, all miscare Bishops voted against it. Rapin says, That eleven ried.

them voted against it, and three for it, who, accordg to my author, were the Bishops of Chester, Exeter, d London. When the news of the rejecting of this ll came to Edinburgh, the Chancellor proposed to make

ablick rejoycings there, but the Duke of York declined is for the present. Thus a brave attempt for supportg the protestant interest was, at this time, frustrated;

it providence had another method for accomplishing is great design.

On the 20th, the revd. Mr. John Carstairs, William Mr. Carobnston and Joseph Brody merchants in Edinburgh, were stairs. ought before the Committee on account of some pars found with Mr. Skene. Mr. Carstairs owned the

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1680. King's authority, and disclaimed the principles of MacCargill; but at the same time protested against Patersa Bishop of Edinburgh sitting in civil Judicatories, result him his titles, and called him only Mr. Paterson, which the Bishop resented and promised to make a return, ever it lay in his power.

Proclamation
against
Mr. Cargill's followers.

On the 22d, a very long and fevere proclamation was published against Mr. Cargill and his followers wherein the King's great care for preferving the pro testant religion was mightily cried up [witness bis fun porting his brother's succession, &c. the followers of M Cargill were accused of the most heinous crimes of real lion, treason, murders, affassination, and carrying on plot for killing the King, the Duke of York, the Coun fellors, Bishops, &c. and the testimonies emitted by the fufferers, together with the Torwood excommunication were all aggravated to the last degree; and therefore the subjects were required to treat the plotters, &c. as m bels, &c. to apprehend them, &c. and for their en couragement, a reward of 5000 merks was promifed for apprehending Mr. Cargill, 3000 merks for Mr. Donglass, and a thousand merks for each of the rest of the conspirators,  $\mathcal{C}_c$ . The Council sent up a Copy of this proclamation to court, and gave his Majesty an account That some had renounced their alle of these things. giance to the King is certain; but that any of their de clarations encourage or affert the lawfulness of murden affaffinations, and the like, is false; and it was equally false, that any plot was carried on among them, for killing the King, his brother, &c. When Mr. Sken, was examined before a Committee of the Council, and was asked if he thought it duty to kill the King, he anfwered, that he had stated himself an enemy to God's interest, and there was war declared against him This, no doubt, would be improved by the managers. We shall find that Mr. Skene was not alone in this mat-How far, all things confidered, he is to be vinde cated, I must leave with the reader. But though, 11 fome things these martyrs for Christ may have expressed themselves not in such happy expressions, yet the in justice, cruelty and tyranny of their persecutors, cannot il to leave a blot on their memory, while the world 1680. ifts. Besides, it is certain, that all they intended by s being lawful to kill the King, &c. was in their own

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On the 8th of December, the revd. Mr. Riddel was ex- Mr. mined a fecond time before the Committee, and ac-Riddel's nowledged the Civil Magistrate, owned the King's second exuthority, and condemned those who did not; but he cation. vould not engage not to preach in the fields as before. and when the Justice Clerk said, Will you but say that ou refolve not to preach in the fields, as long as matters continue as they are? His answer was, Really, my Lord, am afraid to fay or do any thing, that has the appearnce of a straiter hedge about the exercise of my Ministry, han Jesus Christ has drawn before me. And when asked is opinion about the Bishop's death, he said, If private ersons were allowed to go out of their station, to kill nen at their pleasure, no man could be sure of his life. He was again fent to prison.

Next day, the Advocate was ordered to profecute Orders to Geo. Johnston, James Stuart, Geo. White and Will. Dick prosecute. risoners, for being at the Torwood-meeting; but beause Christian Spence, Sarah Spence and Jannet Smith vere only poor and ignorant, they were fet at liberty, nd threatened with being scourged, if ever they were ound at Conventicles. About this time Geo. Piper f Aberdeen, having been a prisoner for supposed corres-

ondence with Mr. Skene and Mr. Cargill, was fet at liberty, fince no fuch thing could be made appear.

On the 16th, garifons were appointed to be kept in Garifons. he houses of Kenmuir and Freugh, and in the Castle of Dumfries; and on the 23d, the Council wrote to the ecretary Murray to procure a pardon for Will. Gordon

f Culvenan, who had been in the rebellion.

On the 25th of December, some of the students in the The Pope College of Edinburgh brought, to the head of the Cow-burnt in ate, the effigy of the POPE in his robes, with his keys, effigy. nitre and triple crown; and when thay had excommulicated him, they carried him about in a chair, like that vherein he is elected at Rome, to the foot of the Blackriars Wynd. The students, knowing the thing had taken

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in procession, to the Grassmarket, the place of the encution of criminals; whereupon the guards marched thither. Mean while, the boys marched in process by the Black-friars Wynd to the High-street, three them going before with lighted torches. Being conthither, they condemned his Holiness to be burnt: a cordingly, the torchmen blew up the effigy with guards powder, notwithstanding their being attracked by some soldiers commanded by Linlithgow and his son; the warned him to beware whom he struck, since he is relations among them.

Mr. George Ridpath banished.

Mr. G. Ridpath, having been very active in projection this affair, was taken up the day before it was to be put execution, and great fearch was made for the effigy, by in vain. Next day, several Gentlemens sons were call before the Council, and particularly examined whether any presbyterian Gentlemen or Ministers did contrib affift, or direct them; but all declared there was now The Chancellor treated them civilly; but the Billing endeavoured to enfnare them with questions about the conformity. But not being able to obtain any advantage they were dismissed for that day. Only Mr. Ridpat then entring on the study of philosophy, was very used. It is said, that he was beat, and had his hair to by the Council's servants, and that Sir William Pater was very rude to him. He was banished his nation country for no other reason but this.

Students of Glasgow.

About this time, the same spirit was working a Glasgow, though in a different manner; for the student there were coloured ribbons to distinguish themselve from Papists, for which several of their leaders, and put ticularly the Marquis of Annandale, then a student, were called before the Masters, and the Archbishop. Annandale defended himself and his fellow-students with spir and resolution; and calling the Archbishop only Sir, Mandele Nicholson his Regent or Master, reproved him, saying William, you do not understand whom you speak to he is a greater person than yourself. Annandale replied I know the King has been pleased to make him a spirit than Lord, but I know likewise, that the Piper of the broth

oth's fon, and my father's fon, are not to be comared. This spirit that shewed itself in the students, ould not but chagrin his Royal Highness; but what was e consequence of it, shall be related in

1680.

## CHAP. VI.

f the executions of Isabel Alison, Marian Harvie, Mr. Cargill, and others; of the followers of John Gib; the sufferings of Heritors, &c. and other things to the session of Parliament.

THE Duke of York's being now in Scotland, sharpned 1681. the edge of the persecution; so that no less than 20 ere executed in the course of this year 1681. The suf- Reasons rers had, 'tis true, declared against the King's autho-for difty; for which many of them were hanged, and other-the King's ise persecuted by their enemies, and censured by their authority. iends. They branded them as madmen, enemies to goernment and civil society; but it is very plain, that they ever opposed government or monarchy as such, but nly wicked, perjured and perfecuting governors. These ey did oppose, and that for the very same reasons that rought about the revolution, and the protestant succession. cannot express this better, than in the words of the thor of the Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, when eaking of the Torwood-excommunication. Says he, "I p. 275. defire the impartial reader to compare it with the memorials above mentioned" [to wit, the memorial to e Prince of Orange from the people of Great Briin, to invite him to come to their affistance] and see, if it be possible for any British Protestant, who owns the justice of the revolution, to reflect upon the zeal of these people, without blushing for himself and the whole nation, that they did not fee and abhor the tyranny of those reigns sooner; then, they had joined with those people instead of censuring their zeal; the revolution had then been brought about without foreign help at all; the Prince of Orange had then been Vol. II. " called R

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VOL. 1681. " called over, as peaceably as King GEORGE, to taken " fession of the crown, and the blood of near 2000 276. " people, who were, one way or other, murdered and

" destroyed by that now abdicated race of tyranis, he "been faved. What a shame is it, fays be, to us, an

66 how much to the honour of these persecuted people "that THEY could thus fee the treachery and tyrang

" of those reigns, when we saw it not; or rather, the "they had so much bonesty of principle, and obeyed

"Arietly the dictates of conscience, as to bear the

" testimony early, nobly, and gloriously to the tra " of God, and the rights of their country, both in

" and religious, while we all, though feeing the far "things, yet betrayed the cause of liberty and n

" ligion, by a finful filence, and a dreadful con

" ardice?"

But suppose, through the treatment, the unaccount able treatment they met with, they had gone a little yond due bounds, and though fometimes their expre fions were not fo well chosen, can that either conden the principles of religion and liberty upon which the acted, nay, or their actual disowning those tyrants, wh for nothing, but the matters of their God and Saviou had declared them outlaws, rebels and traitors? Belide the blood of many was shed against whom the could prove nothing, but what they extorted from them by to their enfnaring questions. Nay, even some of the weaker fex were hanged or drowned on this vo score. But I shall relate the matters of fact, as the happened in the order of time.

The Prowost's bouse burnt.

It was a dreadful affront to the Duke of York, to a his HOLINESS treated in fuch a manner, on that gra festival the xxvth of Dec.; and therefore the sycopha Managers must not overlook such an indignity. A cordingly, on the 4th of January, the Masters of t College declared their abhorrence of what their Scho lars had done; and on the 6th, the Council con manded the Magistrates to order the College gates be shut, and the classes to be dissolved. About this to several of the students were imprisoned, besides Mr. Ri path, which so exasperated the rest, that, it is said, the thream

reatned to burn the Provost's house at Priestfield, be- 1681. use the Magistrates, who were Patrons of the College, stead of protecting them, had acted voiolently against em. And in a few days, the house of Priestfield was ernt, whereupon the Council, on the 17th, issued a proamation, offering 2000 merks, and a remission to any, no should discover the actors: but it don't appear, that y discovery was made; nay, my author says, that some anted not their jealousies, that this house was burnt by hers, with a view to bring an odium on people, who ere no ways concerned. The author of a pamphlet ow before me, intitled, A brief and true Account of the efferings of the Church of Scotland, &c. printed at Lonon 1690, fays, "That they, viz. the Managers, first p. 233 alledged, that the Students threatned to burn the Provost's house, because he, like a blockhead, had suffered the King's Soldiers to enter the city, contrary to his own oath and the town's privileges, to prevent the burning of the POPE: and when they had buzzed about this supposed threatning, they burnt it themfelves, and charged the students with it, to make them odious, and find occasion of dissolving the Univerfity, which they did for fome time; and tho' the faid fludents offered to come to any legal trial, for their vindication, it was never accepted, because the Council knew, it could be proved, that fome of the Duke's livery were feen come from the house, just as it took fire, and that a barrel of powder having the Castle mark upon it, which it was not possible for any to come at, but from the King's ammunition, was found in the park near the faid house." Neither does appear, that ever any was brought to a trial for

The order of time leads me to the case of Isabel Alison Isabel nd Marian Harvey, two young women, who were exe- Alison and ited this month, to the perpetual difgrace of the bloody Marian lanagers, who could have no acts of what they called Harvey. bellion, in the least, to lay to their charge. When ley were taken, I know not. Isabel Alison was appreended at Perth, where she lived, only for speaking gainst the severity used to sundry good people there;

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1680. for they could accuse her of nothing else. Maria Harvey was seized, while going one day from Edit

burgh, to hear fermon in the fields, and was last yo before the Council. But tho' they had nothing again these two young women, they were resolved to shed the blood; and therefore upon what they owned at the examination, they founded their indictment, and took away their lives. That the reader may have a few cimen of the injustice of this period, that afterwards is came common, I shall here insert the substance of the

examination, first before the Council, and next h

fore the Lords of Justiciary.

Ifabel Alifon's examination before the Council. Cloud of Witnesses,

When Isabel Alison was before the Council, she was interrogated as follows: Question, Where did you live at St. Johnstoun? Answer, Yes. Q. What was you occupation? No answer. Q. By the Bishop of Edinburgh Have you conversed with Mr. Donald Cargill? A.S. you feem to be a man, whom I have no clearness to spe to. She faid to another, who asked the same question p. 91, &c. I have feen him, and wish that I had feen him foons Q. Do you own what he has done against the civil M gistrate? A. I do own it. Q. Can you read the Bible A. Yes. Q. Do you know the duty we owe to the a Magistrate? A. When the Magistrate carrieth the swo for God, according to what the Scripture calls for, owe him all due reverence; but when they overturn work of God, and fet themselves in opposition to his it is the duty of his fervants to execute his laws and dinances on them. 2. Do you own the Sanqubard claration? A. I do own it. Do you own the pape taken at the Queens-ferry on Henry Hall? A. Yound not question that. Q. Have you conversed with rebil A. I never conversed with rebels. Q. Did you km Mr. Skene? A. I never faw him. Q, Did you a verse with David Hackstoun? A. I did converse wi him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him; for never faw ought in him, but a godly pious youth. Was the killing of the Bishop of St. Andrews as ous act? A. I never heard him fay, that he kill him; but if God moved any to execute his righted judgments upon him, I have nothing to say to the

ap. 6. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

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fter some other questions, they asked, Did you know 1681. e two Hendersons that murdered the Lord St. Andrews? I never knew any Lord St. Andrews. Q. Mr. James parp, if you call him so? A. I never thought it mur- p. 93. r; but if God moved and stirred them up to execute s righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to fay that. Q. Will you own all you have said; for you ill be put to own it in the Grassmarket? We bemoan ou in putting your life in hazard in such a quarrel. A. think my life little enough in the quarrel, of owning y Lord and Master's sweet truths; for he hath freed e from everlafting wrath, and redeemed my foul; and for my body, it is at his disposa!. There were some her questions, but as they were much to the same purofe as those above, I omit them.

Marian Harvey's examination before the Council was Marian pon the same points with that of her fellow-sufferer, Harvey's nd therefore I must refer the reader for the particulars examinathe Cloud of Witnesses. Only among other things Ibid, p. tey faid, Will you cast away yourself so? To which she 103. plied, I love my life as well as any of you, but would ot redeem it upon finful terms. They faid \* the rock, \* the difthe cod and bobbins were as fit for her to meddle taff. ith as these things. They offered her the assistance that the would have none of their are f Ministers, but she would have none of their pro-

iding.

On the 17th of January, they were brought before before the he Lords of Justiciary; for it was the constant practice Justithis time, the one day to bring fuch as fell into their ciary. ands before the Council, and there, by enfnaring quefons, to bring them into a confession of such things s they accounted treason, and next day to prosecute nem before the \* criminal court. These two women \* the court vere accused for hearing at Field-conventicles, harbouring judges Masters Cargill, Cameron, &c. owning the Rutherglen and in capital angubar declarations, &c.

When Isabel Alison was before them, she was exa-Isabel nined as follows: Q. Do you abide by what you faid Alison. he last day? A. I am not to deny any thing of it. She Ibid, p. wned she had conversed with David Hackstown and dif- 94, 95. wned their authority. 2. Do you disown us and the King's

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1681. King's authority in us? A. I disown you all, because you carry the fword against God, and not for him, and have, these nineteen or twenty years, made it your work to dethrone him, by fwearing year after year against him and his work, and affuming that power to a human creature, which is due to him alone, and have rent the members from their head Christ. — 2. When faw we the two Hendersons and John Balfour? seeing you love ingenuity, will you be ingenuous and tell us, did wo fee them fince the death of the Bishop? A. They ap peared publickly within the land fince. Q. Did you converse with them within these twelve months? She was filent; but upon being urged to fay either yes or no, she answered, Yes. Then they said, Your blood h on your own head, we shall be free of it. She answered So faid PILATE, but it is a question if it was so; and ye have nothing to fay against me, but for owning a

Christ's truths and his persecuted members. They make

no reply, but defired her to subscribe what she had

owned, and upon her refusing, did it for her.

Marian Harvey. Ibid, p. 104, 105.

Marian Harvey before the Justiciary owned the San qubar declaration, &c. and then protested, that they ha nothing to fay against her as to matter of fact; but only that she owned Christ and his truth, his persecuted Gol pel, and members; of which, she said, ye have hange fome, others you have beheaded and quartered quick To this they faid nothing; but called those who were to fit on the Jury, who appeared with reluctance. On of them faid, he did not defire to be engaged in the matter; but he was obliged: then he defired that the confessions of the two prisoners might be read; by cause he knew not what they had to say against them When he was ordered to hold up his hand and fweat he could not, but fell a trembling. The Jury being fixed, the confessions were read, and the Advocate, a speech, aggravated every particular, in order to prove them guilty of treason. Some of the Jury urged, the there was no fast proved against them. The Advocate faid, but treason is fact, and, taking himself again, said, 'Tis true, it is but treason in their judgment, but go on according to our law; and if you will not do it,

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. hap. 6:

ill proceed. The Jury brought them in guilty on 1681. eir own confession; but the passing of the sentence as deferred till the 21st, when they were both conemned to be hanged at the Grass-market on the 6th.

Mean while, on the 20th, the Council enlarged the powers Orders to the Laird of Meldrum for apprehending those who were coffeethe rebellion. The many searches which were made houses. consequence of this, were most oppressive. The same by the Magistrates of Edinburgh were ordered to call I the masters of coffee-houses before them, and oblige em to come under a bond of 5000 merks, to suffer news paper be read in their houses, but such as are

proved of by the officers of state. Next day all the students of the College of Edinburgh, Hardships ere ordered to retire fifteen miles from that place, on the

ithin twenty-four hours, and not to come within these students, bunds without leave from the Council, under the pain being treated as feditious persons. A fine protestant overnment, to make fuch a splutter about burning the

ope! But it was decent to compliment his Royal High-

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On the 26th, Isabel Alison and Marian Harvey were The beecuted according to their fentence. The reader will bavior of nd what passed between them and Mr. Riddel, in the vey and oud of Witnesses, together with their respective testi- J. Alison onies. When they were brought from the prison to in the e Council-house, in order to be carried from thence to councile place of execution, Marian Harvey faid with a furizing chearfulness and heavenly transport, Behold I ar my beloved saying unto me, Arise, my love, my fair e, and come away. When in the Council house, Pason Bishop of Edinburgh (such was the spirit of the an!) faid, Marian, you faid you never would hear a trate, now you shall be forced to hear one; and imediately ordered one of his Suffragans, whom he had epared for the purpose, to pray. When he began, e said to her fellow-prisoner, Come, Isabel, let us sing e xxiii. Psal. which they did; and thereby drowned e Curate's voice, and confounded their persecutors.

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Vol. Their behaviour on the scaffold is not to be omitted Isabel having fung the lxxxiv. Pfal. and read Mark xx and on the cried over the scaffold and said, Rejoice in the Lord, righteous, and again I say rejoice. She was not suffer to pray till she came to the foot of the ladder. Ash went up, she cried out, "O be zealous, Sirs, be zealous " be zealous! O love the Lord all ye his Servants! " love him; for in his favour is life." And added, "

" ye his enemies, what will ye do? whither will yet

" in that day? for now there is a dreadful day coming " on all the enemies of Jesus Christ. Come out from

" among them all ye that are the Lord's people." The the concluded, "Farewell all created comforts! Far

" well fweet Bible in which I delighted most, and whi " has been fweet to me fince I came to prison! Fan

" well Christian acquaintances. Now into thy hands

" commit my spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost

Then the executioner threw her over.

Marian Harvey likewise sung Pfal. lxxxiv. and ha ing read Mal. iii. she said, "I am come here to a " for avowing Christ to be head of his Church a "King in Zion. O feek him, Sirs, feek him, and " shall find him: I fought him and I found him; "held him, and would not let him go." Then I rehearfed briefly the heads of her written testimon Going up the ladder, she said, O my fair one, my low one, come away. And fitting down on the ladder, faid, " I am not come here for murder; for they ha " no matter of fact to charge me with; but only " judgment. I am about twenty years of age. At for " teen or fifteen I was a hearer of the Curates and " dulged; and while I was a hearer of these, I was " blasphemer and sabbath-breaker, and a chapter of "Bible was a burthen to me; but fince I heard to " persecuted Gospel, I durst not blaspheme nor bre "the fabbath, and the bible became my delight Upon this the commanding officer call'd to the exect tioner to throw her over, which he did accordingly.

On the 31st of January, Thomas Turnbull of Stands and Walter Turnbull of Bewly, were forfeited in able by the Justice Court for being in arms at Bothwel.

Next day the Council made an act, ordering all the 1681. tudents to take the oath of allegiance, and prohibiting he masters to receive any scholars, but on these terms.

On the 16th of February, the process of forfeiture gainst Alex. Hamilton of Kinkell (p. 55) was dropt; or his estate was so reduced, that it was not worth

while to feek after it.

On the 17th, the Duke of York moved in Council, hat, confidering the youth of many of the students, the endering of the oath might be delayed, till they came to he fourth class, which was complied with. His Royal Highness, to render himself the more popular, made a rogress, this month, to Linlithgow and Stirling.

On the 2d of March, John Spreul apothecary in Glaf- J. Spreul. ow (p. 114, 115) was indicted before the Justiciary for reason and rebellion; but the matter was put off till

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The same day, John Murray of Borrowstounness, and Christond Christopher Miller weaver in Gargonnock were in- pher Milicted in common form. Their confessions, which they ler, &c. hade at their examination, were much the same, with hose of others. Both were brought in guilty, and orered to be hanged in the Grass-market on the 11th inant. On the 8th of March, William Gowgar in Borowstounness, and Robert Sangster a Stirlingshire-man, reeived the same sentence upon the like confession. John J. Murray Aurray was, by the Council, recommended to the King's pardoned. lemency, as being rather misled, than malicious. ther three were executed, time and place forefaid.

Their joint testimony, which is in the Cloud of Wit-The rest effes, is directed, by way of address, to the shire of Stir-executed. ng. The compilers of that collection have omitted heir particular testimonies; because they were appreensive, they were not genuine, but vitiated, as they xpress it, by John Gib, or some who were tainted with is errors, of which we shall give some account. Nay, hey tell us, that C. Miller and R. Sangster were sufected to be in some danger from these errors. It is reharkable that William Gowgar had a little paper in his ible, which he defigned to throw over the scaffold;

ut when he was taken to the Council-house, with his VOL. II.

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hands of the perfecutors. Having read it, they commanded the executioner to tye him harder than ordinary, fo that he could scarce go up the ladder; and afterward they would not permit him to pray. When he begat to speak on the ladder, and say, I am come here for own ing Christ to be Head and King in Zion, the drums were immediately beat. Then they pretended, that they would offer him his life, on condition he would own the King, but he replied, I will own none but Christ to be King in Zion. Then they said, Will you not retract any thing, sin He answered, No, no, I own all, I adhere to all. Upon which they immediately called to the executioner to throw him over, which he presently did, not suffering him to recommend his spirit to God.

Kennoway's seOn the 19th of March, Thomas Kennoway, an office in the guards, came with a party to the parish of B wing stoun in West-Lothian, with pretended orders to apprehend all who had been at Bothwel. After he had go all the informations he could, he sent two parties will list of those whom they were to apprehend late on a turday night. He spent the Lord's day, in drinking and carousing, and threatened to oblige the prisoners had took, to defray the charges. On Monday, he had a Court, and forced the country people to come as swear as to their receiving or conversing with the whom they called rebels, which shews the hardships the country people were made to suffer.

Military

The fouthern shires were, at this time, dreadfully of pressed with these military Courts. Soldiers were set through a parish to act as they pleased, and their offices appointed Courts in such places as they had a mind. Thus Cornet Graham held a Court in Dalry about to beginning of this year, to which all men and women above sixteen years of age, were summoned to declar upon oath, and sometimes under very odd and strang imprecations, whether they had ever been at Field meetings, or countenanced any, who frequented them, in They obliged them likewise to swear, with the same dreadful imprecations, what they knew of their neighbours or others in the parish. Courts of the same manner of the sa

ure were held by that wretch Grierson of Lagg at 1680.

Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. It is easy for the reader to hake proper observations on these proceedings, so in-

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Many Heritors at this time suffered much; for on the Process 8th and 21st of March, great numbers were before the of for-usticiary, particularly John Williamson son to Joseph feiture. Villiamson in Holl, John Spreul younger, writer in Glasow, James Walker younger of Hacketburn, William weeddale late Bailie of Lanerk, and Hugh Weir merhant there, were, in order to have the benefit of the idemnity, obliged to refign all lands and heritages, to thich they had a right before the faid Att of Grace, and hen were dismissed; but the far greater number, who rere charged as guilty of the rebellion at Bothwel, were rosecuted in absence, forfeited in common form, and rdered to be executed, whenever apprehended. Their ames are these: Dav. White, Gideon Weir, Dav. Gibn, John Wilson, Mr. Tho. Pillans, James Lawrie, rch. Simpson, Tho. Lauchlan, Will. Fergusson, John emple, Tho. Inglis, Alex. Anderson, John Pumphray, Rort Goodwine, James Cunningham, Isaac Blackwell son to bo. Blackwell, all in Glasgow; John Jack in Neruplair, Vill. Padzean in Lanerk, Rob. Lockhart of Birkbill, ames Weir of Johnshilp, John Steil in Overwaterhead, obn Haddow and James White in Douglas, Will. Falner and A. TACKET in Hamilton, Gav. Wotherspoon of leathrie-know, John Eastoun of Quarryneen, Will. Riddel Rutherglen, Rob. Fleming in Anchinfin, John Hamilun in Rogertoun, Tho. Craig in Jacktoun, John Miller in ongcalderwood, John Wilson of Highsleet, Rob. Steven Newland, John Steil of Windbill, John Cochran of raigie, James Dykes of Halburn, John Carduff in Jackun, Tho. Paton at Camnethan, John Whytlaw and John aterson at Bothwelskeil, John White of Newk, Tho. Lin Blairachin, John Weddale of Chisdale, John Clyde in ilbride, all in the shire of Lanerk. The most that was oved against these persons was converse with some that ad been concerned in the rifing, which was not possible r them to avoid.

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1680. James Grey of Chryftoun.

In this month of March, James Gray of Chryston was brought before the Justiciary for alledged access to Bothwel, and acquitted. This Gentleman had fil tained prodigious losses, and endured many hards during some preceding years. And though he was no acquitted, yet his troubles were not at an end; for his known aversion to prelacy laid him open to the insatial refentments of the orthodox Clergy, at whose instigation his house was pillaged by the foldiers. Their rudent was fuch, that his family was forced to quit the hour except his wife, who flayed in one of the rooms, with young girl, that attended her. Mean while Capus Strachan's men continued three months about the hour confuming his fubstance; and in the beginning of no year he was feized, as we shall relate in its prop place.

A paper.

On the 3d of April a paper was affixed to the Church of Kettle, discowning the King's authority; but as feems, it contained feveral things difagreeable to the in timents of the followers of Mr. Cargill, I shall favor more of it.

On the 5th, there was a process against such of forfeiture. heritors of Air-shire, who were alledged to have be concerned in Bothwel; and these following were forsen in life and fortune, viz. Gil. M'lewraith of Dummordi Tho. Macjarrow of Bar, John Macjarrow of Penjarra Hen. Macjarrow of Anthalbanie, Geo. M'lur of Benno Hugh M'lewraith of Auchinflour, John Alexander of Dru mochrian, M'Michen of Killentrian, Allan Bowy of Dru bog. The same day the Court dropt the process again Robert Fullertoun of Bennels, Robert Nisbet of Greenbal Kennedy younger of Glenour, and James Aird younger Miltoun, who appeared at the bar, and offered to fla trial; for it is to be observed, that in both these m ceffes fentence was pronounced only against absent for few of the heritors, that appeared to stand trial, we found guilty; and it was easy to find those guilty, w were not present to answer for themselves, which " generally the cafe.

Mr. . The last mentioned Mr. Aird, whose sufferings beta Sufferings. this time were not small, notwithstanding his being

liberty, was not exempted from further hardships; 1681. the was obliged to agree with the Laird of Broich, no got a gift of his moveable effects, and to give him thousand merks. His charges before the Justiciary nounted to 300. A few weeks after this, parties were nt in quest of him, so that he was obliged to lie for e space of 42 nights in the open fields, and for several ars to keep out of the way. Many times his house as risted by the foldiers. However, he survived his oubles, and enjoyed his religious liberty and property, r many years, after the happy revolution.

On the 6th, the Council suffered Mr. Riddel (p. go and fee his dying mother, upon condition to re- del fent to m to his confinement by the 25th; but being after- the Bass. ards charged with breaking his confinement, keeping onventicles and baptizing children, he was ordered to

e Bass, where he continued for threeyears.

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The same day the revd. Mr. J. Blackedder (vol. i. p. 77) was apprehended by Major Johnstoun, and was rought in prisoner before a Committee of the Council, onfifting of the Chancellor, the General, the Advocate d Bishop Paterson. When he owned that he was a respyterian Minister ordained to Traquair 1653, he was ramined upon feveral things; some of which were iese: Chancellor, Did you excommunicate the King, or as you at Torwood? A. I was not at Torwood thefe ur years. Chancel. But do you approve of what was one there? A. I am not free to declare my inward fenments and opinions of things and perfons, and therebre I humbly beg to be excused; you must form a libel When he continued to decline giving an answer, the hancellor said, But do you approve of shedding the ling's blood, and damning him in soul and hancellors. o not, and no good man will. Chancel. You have done ourself a favour in saying so; but we hear you keep conventicles since the Indemnity. A. My Lord, I am a Minister of the Gospel, though unworthy, and under he strictest obligations to exercise my Ministry, as I hall be answerable at the great day. I did and do still ount it my duty to exercise my ministry, as I am called

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1681. thereunto. Chancel. But you have preached in the fell that is to fay, on muirs and hill fides. I shall not all if you have preached in houses, though there is not berty even for that. A. I place no case of conscient nor make any difference between preaching in hou and the fields, but as it may best serve the convenient of the hearers; nor know I any restriction, either as in the Word. My commission reaches to houses a fields, within and without doors. Chancel. No doub you know and have feen the laws discharging in preaching. A. My Lord, I have, and am forry, to ever any laws were made against preaching the Gold Chancel. Not against the Gospel, but sedition a rebellion. A. I preach no fedition and rebellion. Advocate came to him, and faid, he was forry was on the referve as to the excommunication. H answered, he was no wise straitned as to that; but thought, he was only obliged to speak of facts n lating to himself. The Council sat in the afternoon and ordered him to be fent to the Bass, where he on tinued for the space of five years, till the day of death, when he entered into the joy of bis Lord. Ih only observe concerning this eminent person, that last time he preached in publick, he lectured up Mich. iv. from ver. 9, where, among many other thing he faid, "That the nearer the deliverance, our par

P. Walker who beard him.

" and showers would come thicker and forer upon up " and that we had been in the fields, but ere we we "delivered, we should go down to Babylon; that eith " Popery would overspread this land, or would be " the breaking in upon us, like an innundation " Waters."

On the 8th of April, a new and severe proclamator was iffued against Conventicles, though the faithful M Cargill was the only person, that now ventured to pread in the fields; and, in a very little, that light was put of as we shall relate.

Followers the Sweet Singers.

About this time, the blasphemies of John Gib a said of Gib, or at Borrowstounness made a great noise; for what can expected from bearing down the Gospel, but the break ing in of a flood of errors? And I cannot but ago with my author, that it is furprizing, that more we

t led aside into gross delusions, in such a period as 1681. is; for it is plain, that it was but a remnant that flood m, when the most part, through weakness, made too eat compliances. However, Gib had but few that ere drawn aside by him, viz. David Jamie, Walter er, and John Young, together with 26 women. These fowned communion with all, who were not of their ay, belched out curses and execrations upon them, and ept themselves in desert places from all company. hey were called, the Sweet Singers, from their being uch engaged in finging the mournful Pfalms, as Pfal. xiv, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxiii, cxxxvii. In the beginning this month of April, they unanimously left their buses, and retired to desert places, to be safe from the nd's utter ruin and defolation. It would be to little irpose, to give an account of all their extravagancies. hey renounced the Psalms in metre, the translaon of the old and new Testaments, because of its dedition to King JAMES; they rejected all authority roughout the world, from the tyrant CHARLES Stuart use their own words) to the smallest tyrant. They ndemned the names of the months, and of the days the week.

About the latter end of April, the Gibbites were all appreken by a troop of dragoons, at the Wollbill craigs be- bended een Lothian and Tweedale, and brought to Edinburgh. he four men were put into the Canongate prison, and e women into the Correction-house: and it is said, some them were scourged. It appears from the paper they we in to the Council on the first of May this year, at they burnt the Psalms in metre, &c. Before they tre imprisoned, Mr. Cargill was at no small pains to claim them. In short, Mr. Cargill's followers threw em out of their fociety, and none of the other Presbyians ever owned them. However, the Duke of York d his party were fecretly pleased with these extravancies. They were foon released. Some time after, e four men, with Isabel Bonn, and another woman, nt to a place called the Frost-Moss, where they burnt bible, every one of them using expressions at the

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1688. committing of that horrid act, which I shall not in These mad delusions were prevented from spreading, feveral of themselves were afterwards reclaimed. Gray of Chrystoun, James Sloss and James Baird w very useful in putting a stop to these delusions. In now proceed.

Chapmen masters.

On the 4th of May, all chapmen were forbid to be and Shool- vel without a pass from the Sheriff, and all Schoolm ters in the parishes of indulged Ministers, were ordered be removed, unless they had a licence from the Bill left the minds of the youth should be corrupted. I fame day one Mr. Alexander Symers, having feent errors of Prelacy and forfaken it, was ordered to bem fecuted; but there is no more concerning him.

J. Pettigrew, &c.

About this time, James Pettigrew, Alex. Smith, Rob. Ruffel, all in the parish of Camnethan, were few and carried into Edinburgh; James Pettigrew continu three months a prisoner, and paid 300 merks. fuffered confiderable losses in the following years. A Smith escaped in women's cloaths, but was afterwa taken and rescued. He made his escape a third in from Dunnetter, but was retaken 1687, and continu prisoner till the revolution. Though these two were ledged to be concerned in Bothwel, yet nothing or be laid to the charge of the third, who was met ont road by a party of foldiers, and refusing to answer questions, or pray for the King at their defire, was threatened with immediate death; but that practices being as yet common, they fent him in prisoner to L burgh, where he lay near two years in irons.

On the 2d of June, Mr. J. Wardlaw was denound and Lauderdale was continued in the command of

Castle of Edinburgh.

On the 8th, a proclamation was issued for the liament to fit on the 28th of next month. It was n nine years, fince there were any Parliaments in land; and though the King had no reason to be pleased with the Scots Parliaments, yet Duke Hamil and others appearing in the last, for the redress of vances, they were foon diffolved. But his Majesty's ved BROTHER was in Scotland, and being appointed 1681. ommissioner, all things were expected to go on noothly.

The day after this proclamation, new orders were Garijons. ven for garifons, in feveral houses in the West-country, rticularly, the houses of Sorn, the Castle of Stratbaven d the house of Dean. Duke Hamilton and the Earls Lowdon and Kilmarnock were ordered to get these

buses ready.

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On the 10th, Mr. Spreul (p. 114, 115) was brought Mr. efore the Justiciary, and was indicted for treason and Spreul bebellion, in corresponding and being present with the fore the bels of Bothwel, especially with Mr. John Welsh and ciary. Ir. Samuel Arnot, who are called, The bloody and facrigious murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, ough these two Ministers had no hand in that act. he prisoner's Advocates or Council were Sir George ockbart, Mr. Walter Pringle, Mr. James Daes, Mr. lex. Swinton, and Mr. Dav. Thoirs.

At the beginning of the trial, the Advocate declared, at he used the prisoner's confession, when put to torre before the Council, only as a mean of probation to adminiculate the other + probation to be led, but doth \* support. ot infift upon that confession, at this time, either as a tevidence. ime of itself or a sufficient mean of probation, without eing adminiculate, as faid is. Mr. Pringle, for the priner, alledged, that he could not come under a new ial, having been examined by the Council for the me crime, and been tortured two feveral times, and aving still denied it; and consequently, by the law of his and all other nations, he ought not be arraigned and ondemned for that crime, upon any new evidence. his occasioned a long debate, which I shall not trouble he reader with. He may see what was said pro and con my author. Vol. II. p. 166, &c.

After this debate was over, the Lords, by their \* In- a judgrlocutor, found the indictment relevant, or that the ment for nings specified in it, were treasonable, and referred the quia juroof to the Jury, and rejected the defence founded on dex inhe torture, because the Council's commission did not terim arrant the prisoner to be question'd on the crimes loquitur.

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1681. specified in the indictment, and continued the action

the 13th.

On the 13th, Mr. Pringle, for the prisoner, alledge that, notwithstanding the interlocutor, the defence our to be fustained, and took instruments, upon product the commission, maintaining that notwithstanding the the Committee had power to examine the prisoner the crimes charged upon him, and did examine him cordingly; and Mr. Thoirs added, that the Commin were fole judges of the pertinency of the interrogation ries; and that the prisoner, having in torture denied crimes laid to his charge, ought to be acquitted; a the Jury acquitted Mr. Spreul, for they found no com proved against him. Nevertheless, the Council remain ed him to prison, alledging they had several other thin against him, fined him in 500 l. sterl. for being at Fill meetings, and fent him to the Bass, where he continu the space of fix years. One William Lin writer in El burgh was fined in the same sum, and sent to the h along with him. One reason of this severity, wash cause when the D. of York asked at Mr. Spreul in Man last, Sir, would you kill the King? he directed himself the Chancellor and faid, My Lord, I bless God, I am Papist; I lothe and abbor all those jesuitical and murden principles; neither my parents, nor the Ministers I head ever taught me such principles.

On the faid 10th June, R. Fergusson of Letter-pin windicted for Bothwel, but it seems the matter was drop.

On the 15th, Francis Borthwick, fecond fon to Jan Borthwick of Harelaw, was declared to be an out-la and fugitive, because he had apostatized from Christ anity, embraced Judaissin, and had been circumcised, a bloshemed the Lord Jesus Christ. This, my auth thinks, was the only instance of the kind since the resultant

A full of mation.

Next day, Mr Alex. Hastie and John Row we denounced for keeping Conventicles. The same day, proclamation was issued for a fast to be observed in south parts on the 29th, and in the more remote parts on the 6th of July. The causes of this fast were blasphemous and sanguinary opinions of many who has left the communion of the established church, the

reatened famine, and the approaching Session of Par- 1681. ment. I shall only here observe, that they had not ted like themselves, if some virulent reproaches had t been thrown upon the suffering people. The blood many of God's people was upon them, and had not eir eyes been shut, that should have been mentioned one of the chief grounds of humiliation; but they had knowledge of this.

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On the 21st, the Earl of Queensberry Sheriff-principal Orders Dumfries, or his deputies, were ordered to call se- against ral before them for Conventicles, which brought not a ticles, &c. w to trouble; and new orders were issued against ofe, who had been at Bothwel; the Sheriffs and other agistrates were appointed to seize and bring them to fice, and fecure their rents and lands for his Maty's use, and the country from Field-conventicles.

Adam Philip, Laurence Hay a weaver, and Andrew Adam ttilloch land-labourer in the parish of Largo in Fife, Philips, ving joined in a fociety for prayer and conference, &c. cxened a paper last month, intitled, A testimony against evils of the times. That paper, some way or anoer, having come into the hands of the managers, they re apprehended, and, on the 11th of July, brought fore the Justiciary; they owned the said paper, in ich they disclaimed the King's authority, and were ndemned to be hanged at the Grass-market on the th, which was done accordingly. My author fays, at this paper seemed, from quotations from it in their pcess, to be wild, and smell of Gib's delusions. As to at, I can fay nothing; only the testimonies of the two , mentioned in The Cloud of Witnesses, breath a spirit true piety; and Laurence Hay in particular, leaves his timony to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaent, to the version of the Psalms in metre, and to the ork of reformation, COVENANTS national, and Solemn ague, &c. Andrew Pittilech declared against the four en in the Canongate Tolbooth, and all that joined with m, for wronging the Scripture. Adam Philip is pitted in The Cloud of Witnesses.

On the 12th, William Thomson servant in Fresk, who d been seized on the last Sabbath of June, as he was ming from hearing Mr. Cargill, was examined before

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1681. the Committee for publick affairs. He owned his being Bothwel, and had not taken the bond, &c. He reful to answer whether the rising at Bothwel was rebelling and concerning the King's authority and the Arch shop's death. Being asked, if it was lawful to kill h officers of the army, he asked at the Committee if it w lawful for them to kill the people of God, adding, that they pleased, they might lay the one to the other. & ing further asked, if, to save his life, he would say, & fave the King, he answered, that he would not buy life at fo dear a rate, as to commit any fin.

Mr. Cargill apprebended. P. Wal-

At this time, the pious, faithful, and zealous M Daniel, commonly called Donald Cargill, was in enemies hand. The last time he preached was in Do ker, p. 45. fyre-common, between Clydesdale and Lothian, when expounded Jer. i. and preached from Isa. xxvi. 20,1 Some time that night (for he durst not leave the del place, where he preached, till it was dark) he went, the perswasion of Mr. Smith and Mr. Boig, witht Lady of St. John's Kirk as far as Covingtoun-mill, tot house of one Andrew Fisher, a mile from that Lad house. James Irvine of Bonshaw, having obtained general commission, marched with a party of dragon from Kilbride, and next morning by fun-rising came St. John's-Kirk, and having narrowly fearched to house, and the house of one James Thomson, came no to Covingtoun-mill, and there apprehended him, tog ther with Mr. Smith and Mr. Boig. Bonshaw cried a Ob bleffed Bonshaw, and bleffed day that ever I was but that have found such a prize this morning! for a rewa of 5000 merks was promised to the apprehender of M Cargill, p. 118.

They marched hard to Lanerk, and put the prisons P. 48. in jail, till the foldiers had some refreshment. Wh they got horses, they brought them out in haste, a fet them on their bare backs. Bonshaw, with his or hands, tied Mr. Cargill's feet below the horse's be very hard. The good man looked down to him, a faid, "Why do you tie me so hard? your wickeds " is great, you will not long escape the just judgme

" of God; and if I be not mistaken, it will seize up " you in this place." And this was verified; for for

ter he got the price of this blood, he was killed in a 1681. nel near Lanerk. His last words were, G--d-- my soul

ernally, for I am gone.

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Fearing a rescue, they made all the dispatch they brought to ould to Glasgow: When near the city, they turned him Glasgow, the horse, and led him in backward, which drew ars from many, to fee their old Minister in such a ofture; for he had been some years minister of the arony-Church. When they came to the Tolbooth, ey halted till the Magistrates came to receive them. hen that wretch, John Nesbit, the Archbishop's factor, id, by way of ridicule, Mr. Cargill (three time over) ill you not give us one word more? alluding to an expreson Mr. Cargill sometimes used in his serious patheck way of preaching. The good man, looking on m with regret and concern, faid, Wicked poor man, by do you mock? ere you die, you will desire one word, nd shall not have it; and soon after he was struck dumb. s tongue swelling in his mouth. Robert Goodwin and obn Hodge, two Glasgow-men, who were witnesses of is, went to visit him. Goodwin desired him to write, hat kept him from speaking. He wrote, That it was just judgment from the Lord, and the sayings of the Miifter verified upon him, for his mocking of him; and if he ad the whole world, he would give it for the use of his ngue again. But he died in great torment and feeming rror.

From Glasgow Mr. Cargill and his fellow-prisoners examined ere carried to Edinburgh; and on the 15th of July, he before the as examined before the Council. The Chancellor lothes (being one of the seven whom he had excommucated at Torwood) raged against him, and threatened m with extraordinary torture and violent death. Mr. argill faid, My Lord Rothes, forbear to threaten me, r die what death I will, your eyes shall not see it; and is well known, that the Chancellor died that morning hat Mr. Cargill and his fellow martyrs suffered in the ternoon. When he was asked, if he owned the King's thority, and the King as his lawful Prince, he answerd, As the Magistrates authority is now established by e act of Parliament anent supremacy, and the explanabry act, that he denied the same, but refused to give

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1681, any answer to the other branch of the question. H likewise declined to answer, as to the excommunication that being an ecclefiastical matter, and the Council being a civil Judicatory. He owned the lawfulness of defense arms, in case of necessity, denying that those who me at Bothwel, &c. were rebels, or that he was concerned in drawing up the Sangubar declaration. He decline giving his judgment as to the principles contained in unless he had more time to peruse the contents. Hefu ther declared, that he could not give his fense of killing of the Archbishop, but that the Scripture fan The Lord giving a call to a private man to kill, might do it lawfully, and gave the instances of Jael and Phineas. These were the most material things upon which he was examined.

Mr. Boig and Mr. Smith examined.

On the said 15th, Mr. James Boig, son to James Boig merchant in Edinburgh, and Mr. Walter Smith, in to Walter Smith in the parish of St. Ninian's, students divinity, were examined before the Council. The for mer owned the principles of the sufferers; that the rife at Bothwel was lawful, being in defence of the trun As to the killing of the Archbishop, he declared he wa not obliged to answer for the actions of others. H owned the Sangubar declaration; but refused to fight confession, because he said, that would be an owning the King's authority, which he disowned. The latter declared, he did not acknowledge the present authority the King is now invested with, and that the grounds the excommunication were just. On the 19th, Mr. Smil was again before the Council, and, the Sangubar declar ration being read, declared, that he owned it in all articles; only, he did not look on those who composed it, as the formal representatives of the presbyterian church and that he did not like the word denuded, in that ex pression, the King should have been denuded many year ago; but that what the King had done, justified to people in revolting from him. As to declaring war, did not know, if they were called or in a capacity tode clare war: and therefore, he was of opinion, that, there by, they only intended to justify the killing of any of the King's forces in their own defence, when affaulted, other

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. hap. 6.

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ife it might have been esteemed murther. As to the 1681. ing's being called an usurper and a tyrant, he faid, that he new the King was an usurper, and wished he was not a

One William Cutbil a failor in Borrowstounness, hav- W. Cug been taken by some of the Earl of Mar's men, was thil. kewise examined, when he denied the King's authority, nd declared, that he deserved to die, and that he thought e persons, who killed the Archbishop, had the glory of

od before their eyes.

Mr. Cargill was again before the Council on the 19th Argyle's July, but refused to answer their questions, except as casting the excommunication, when he expressed himself as ove. It feems there was a motion made to spare his e, and fend him to the Bass as a prisoner for life. Then the vote was put, the motion was rejected, ocfioned by the casting vote of the Earl of Argyle, which terwards lay heavy upon his Lordship.

On the 26th, Mr. Cargill, Mr. Smith, Mr. Boig, W. Thom. Mr. Car-, and William Cuthil, were brought before the Justi- before the ary, and being indicted in common form, their con- Justilions were produced as evidences against them, and ciary. ey were all brought in guilty of high treason, and ndemned to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh next y, their heads to be severed from their bodies, and ofe of Masters Cargill, Boig, and Smith to be placed on e Netherbow, and the heads of the other two on the

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When Mr. Cargill's confession was read before the Mr. Car. sticiary, he declared before them, that the word ast gill's beplanatory in his confession is thus to be understood, That the act explaining the King's Supremacy, gives him a right to the authority of Jesus Christ, and that supremacy, given him by act of parliament, is against right; and further declared, that those, who rose in arms at Bothwel, were not rebels, but raised by op-

On the 27th, Mr. Cargill and the other four were all ecuted according to their fentence. Mr. Cargill's tefnony is in the Cloud of Witnesses, and in my author's

pendix, of which the following is an abstract.

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1681. bis teftimony,

"This is the most joyful day, that ever I saw, my joy is now begun, which, I fee, shall never Extract of is interrupted. I see both my interest, and his true the fureness of the one, and the preciousness of other. It is near thirty years, fince he made it for and fince that time (tho' there has fallen out mu in, yet) I was never out of an affurance of min

interest, nor long out of fight of his presence. is long, fince I could have ventured on eternity the "God's mercy and Christ's merit; but death remain " somewhat terrible; but that now is taken away, a

" now death is no more to me, but to cast myself in " my husband's arms, and to lye down with him.-

"I have been most in the main things, not that " thought the things concerning our times LITTLE, h

" that I thought, none could do any thing to purp " in God's great and publick matters, till they we " right in their conditions. And O that all had takent

" method, for then there had been fewer apostacies!-" My foul trembles to think, how little of regeneral

"there is among the Ministers and Professors of & " land! O the Ministers of Scotland, how have the

" betrayed Christ's interest and beguiled souls!-"They have fold the things of Christ and libertis

" his Church, for a short and cursed quiet to the

" felves, which is now near an end. —— As to our pr " feffors, my counsel to them is, that they would

" well to their own regeneration; for the most part "them has that yet to do. - As to the cause of "

" fuffering, the main is not acknowledging the pres " authority as it is established in the supremacy and

of planatory act. This is the magistracy that I have " jected, that was invested with Christ's power. A

" feeing that power taken from Christ, which is " glory, is made the effential of the crown, I though

" this was, as if I had feen one wearing my husband " garments after he had killed him."-

After he got to the scaffold, he stood with his bu to the ladder, and defired the attention of the merous spectators; and, after singing Pfal. cxviii. In

ver. 16, he began to speak to three forts of perla

his bel. vior on the scaffold.

ut being interrupted by the drums, he faid with a 1681. miling countenance, Ye fee we have not liberty to speak, r to speak what we would, but God knoweth our hearts. is he proceeded, he was again interrupted as before. Then after a little filence, he began to exhort the people, nd shew his own comfort in laying down his life, and the affurance of a bleffed eternity. Thus he spoke, Now I am as fure of my interest in Christ, and peace with God, as all within this Bible and the Spirit of God can make me, — and I am fully persuaded, that this is his way for which I fuffer, and that he will return gloriously to Scotland; but it will be terrifying to many; therefore I entreat you, be not difcouraged at the way of Christ, and the cause for which I am to lay down my life and step into eternity, where my foul shall be as full of him, as it can defire to be. And now, this is the sweetest and most glorious day that ever my eyes did fee. - Enemies are now enraged against the way and people of God; but ere long they shall be enraged one against another to their own confusion." At this the drums eat a third time. When he fet his foot on the ladder, e faid, "The Lord knows, I go up this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach." And when he was up, he far own and faid, " Now I am near to the getting of my crown, which shall be sure; for I bless the Lord, and defire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, and makes me triumph over devils and men and fin; they shall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, and pray the Lord may forgive all the wrongs, that any of the elect have done against him. I pray that the fufferers may be kept from fin, and helped to know their duty." Then having prayed a little ithin himself, he lifted up the napkin and said, Farewell all relations and friends in Christ, farewell acquaintances and all earthly enjoyments, farewell reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproaches, and fufferings. Welcome joy unspeakable and full of glory. Welcome Father, Son VOL. II. " and

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1681. " and Holy Ghoft. Into thy hands I commit my fi " rit." Then he prayed a little, and the execution

turned him over, praying.

Thus the reverend and faithful Mr. DANIEL CAN GILL finished his course, and the ministry he had n ceived of the Lord. After he had finished his studie at Aberdeen, he was fettled Minister of the Baron Church at Glasgow, and at this time was publicate murdered at the Cross of Edinburgh.

Mr. Smith's execution.

146

Mr. Walter Smith suffered with him. His testimon is also in the Cloud of Witnesses, to which I must rele the reader. He adhered to the very same cause with Mr. Cargill, and declared against the same usurpation of Christ's crown and dignity, and died with the same affurance of his interest in Christ, declaring his abhorrence of popery, prelacy, eraftianism, and all the other sta of defection. He went up the ladder with all the fig of chearfulness; and when the executioner was to unit his cravat, he would not fuffer him, but untied it him felf, and calling for his brother, threw it down, faying This is the last token, you shall get from me. Aft the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered again, and faid, "I have one word more to fay, at " that is to all, who have any love to God and h " righteous cause, that they would set time apart a " fing a fong of praise to the Lord for what he ha " done to my foul, and my foul fays, To him be praise Then the napkin being let down, he was turned over praying. Mr. Smith studied under the famous Leusla who had a fingular value for him. He drew up ap per containing twenty-two steps of defection. And these be considered, it will appear, that few or none the fufferers exceeded him in their testimonies again the encroachments made, at that day, upon the roy prerogatives of Christ as the head of his Church.

Mr. Boig's

Mr. Boig was next dispatched, and adhered to the execution. same testimony, and died in the full assurance of fain He concludes his letter to his brother with these word " Let this suffice, that I am once fairly on the way an

" within the view of Immanuel's land, and in hopest " be received an inhabitant there, within the space

26 hours at most. Farewell all earthly comforts, 1681. farewell all worldly vanities, farewell all carnal defires. Welcome cross, welcome gallows, welcome Christ, welcome heaven and everlasting happiness, &c. I have no more spare time. Grace, mercy and peace be with you. Amen."

I do not find any thing recorded of the other two, iz. William Thomson and William Cuthil, when at the lace of execution; but it appears from their testimonies, which are in the Cloud of Witnesses, that they continued, o the last, zealous against the tyranny and defections of he times. They had not the education of their three ellow-fufferers, and therefore, though they did not exrefs themselves so accurately, yet that is to be ex-

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Executions are usually attended with a vast crouds of Mr. pectators. Among others who beheld this execution, Renwick vas Mr. JAMES RENWICK, who was the last that fell at this facrifice, in this period in Scotland, to prelacy and the execution. loody house of Stuart. Mr. Renwick was an early Renonvert; for having finished his accademical studies, he wick's life by Shields. ras so tender in conscience, that he refused to take the ath of allegiance and supremacy; and therefore, with two thers, he took his degrees privately at Edinburgh, where e remained, profecuting his studies, attending on the hen private and perfecuted meetings, and continuing in mity with the Ministers there, until he discovered their eflections from many degrees of the COVENANTED reormation, in accepting of indulgences, especially the BAND-D indulgence after Bothwel. This brought him into great erplexity, neither knowing how to countenance them r to withdraw from them. But Mr. Cargill's execuion made fuch an impression upon him, that he was deermined to embark with these faithful martyrs, to tread n their steps, and, in his station, to defend their cause. Among other things, he was grounded in this refoluion, when he observed, says the writer of his life, 'how the Council and Courts of Inquisition, by outting the question of owning the authority of CHARLES II. fo generally and peremptorily to all brisoners, were pursuing a strange and singular piece of

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the guilt of their persecution, by owning that authority that promoted it." Therefore he and others examine the point, and soon found that Charles had forseited all authority, by his persidious breach of trust, and over turning all the sundamental constitution of the government, both in church and state, &c. And as the persecuted people kept societies for prayer and conserence, Mr. Renwick joined one of these, for a time, but sound it necessary to withdraw, because they complied with the cess (vol. I. p. 461, &c.) and sought for a society, that was free of all these compliances. We shall he more of him afterwards. I go on now to

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Duke of York's Parliament, the TEST; the trial condemnation and escape of the Earl of Argyle; the end cution at the gallow-lee, and other things to the end the year.

1681. HE execution of Mr. Cargill, and his fellow fuffers, the day before the fitting of the Parla ment, gave but a melancholy prospect. Neither coul any good be expected, when the Duke of York, a profile fed Papist, was Commissioner.

The Parment fat down.

First act.

The Parliament sat down on the 28th of July, when after the reading of the King's letter, the Commissions delivered a speech, from which it appears, that the child designs of this parliament were to bear down separation or the Presbyterians, and secure the succession, that popery. The first was tacitly recommended in the King's letter, and the other in the Commissioner's speech though that doubtless might have come, with a bette grace, from another.

The first act was for securing the protestant religion. This came of course; for most parliaments, since the reformation, began with what, they thought, had an

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ap. 7. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

ence to the security of religion. Bishop Burnet says, 1681.

The Duke thought, it would give a good grace to all thould be done afterwards, to begin with such a P. 513.

The present and cold confirmation of all former laws.

The second act was that for afferting the right of suc- 2d act. ion to the imperial crown of Scotland. " The Estates of Parliament confidering, that the Kings of this realm derive their royal power from God Almighty ALONE, do fucceed lineally thereto, according to the known degrees of proximity of blood, which cannot be interrupted, suspended, or diverted by any act or statute whatfoever [this act then seems quite unceffary] and that none can attempt to alter or divert it, without involving the subjects of this kingdom in perjury and rebellion, and without exposing them to all the fatal and dreadful consequences of a civil war, do therefore, &c." I shall make no remarks re, further than to observe, that, in about seven years er this, the whole island came to have no good-will this lineal succession, and went into the measures atnpted by some brave patriots in England, and put in actice the principles of liberty, for which the fufferers Scotland took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and d down their very lives.

Having thus fettled their lineal successor, by their 3d 3d at. , they offered a new supply to the King; because of danger the kingdom was in by seditious and rebellious eld-conventicles; and to support the army in bearing m down. I shall not trouble the reader with their act fecuring the peace of the country; for, as it was elacy, that ever disturbed the quiet of the kingdom, it was impracticable, to restore peace, while that reained. Prelacy in Scotland, and the peace of the nan, have been always found inconsistent. By this act, e fines for Field-Conventicles were all doubled, and Burses, besides their former fines, were to loose their rgeship or freedom, and be banished the town. e act, which made most noise, was that which imposed e oath called the TEST, of which I shall speak a le more particularly, when I have mentioned fome ings that previously happened.

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The day before this Parliament fat down, the Du of Rothes died. When he felt the pangs of death, called for some of his Lady's Ministers; for it seem bis own Ministers were good to live with, but not to with. Accordingly, he had the affiftance of the revol Mr. John Carstairs and Mr. George Johnstoun, who dea with great freedom and faithfulness, rehearing man wicked acts of his life. He faid to Mr. Carstairs, W all thought little of what that man did, in excommuni cating us; but I find that fentence binding upon me now and will bind to eternity. When Mr. Johnstoun was pray, ing, several Noblemen and Bishops were in the new room, and some said to the Bishops, He is a Presbyte rian Minister that is praying, the devil ane of you can pro as they do, though your prayers would keep a foul out bell. In short, the Noblemen were much affected, and Duke Hamilton said, We banish these men from us, an yet when dying, we call for them; this is melanchel work.

Alterations upon this.

Lauderdale's being out of the Secretary's office, and the Duke of Rothes's death made no small change among the managers. The Duke of York's party came in, many of whom complimented him with their religion, and turns Papists. And no doubt, the hopes of succeeding Rath excited several to court the Duke's favour; and, by this means, his Royal Highness got every thing carrid in the Parliament to his mind.

Process of error.

On the 3d of August, a process of error was com menced against several of the Jury, who had acquitte some of the Heritors in the shire of Lanerk last March (p. 131, 132) All the Jury got off, except Alex. Gray and Jam. Bailie merchants in Edinburgh, and Jam. Grayo These three were sentenced to have for Waristoun. feited all their chattels and other moveables to his Ma jesty's use, and to lie in prison for a year.

L. Haltoun accused of perjury Burnet, P. 514.

While publick business was going on in the Parlia ment, one stood up and accused Lord Haltoun, Duk Lauderdale's brother, of perjury, on account of Mr. M. chel's affair (vol. I. p. 352.) He had in his hands the two letters which that Lord had writ to the Earl Kincardin, mentioning the promise of life that was made ap. 7. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

m; and, as was told formerly, Lord Haltoun swore at his 1681. al, that no fuch promise was made (vol. I. p. 423.) he Lord Kinkardin was dead a year before this; but s Lady had delivered up these letters, to be made use against Lord Haltoun. Upon reading them, the atter appeared plain. The Duke was not ill pleased have Lauderdale and his brother thus at mercy; t he would not suffer the matter to be determined in parliamentary way; fo he moved, that the whole afir might be referred to the King; which was immediely agreed to. Thus, says the historian, that infaous business was made publick, and yet stifled at the me time; and no censure was ever put on that base tion.

Another vile discovery was made. Lord Bargeny, L. Barphew to Duke Hamilton, had been imprisoned on ac-geny's unt of the rifing at Bothwel (p. 77, 90.) The whole affair fair was laid before the Parliament, and his Lordship d full proof of every thing ready to produce; but the uke prevailed to have this likewise referred to the ing; and it was never more heard of. This, fays Ibid. 515? urnet, " shewed what Lauderdale's party were capable

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It likewise gave an ill character of the Duke's zeal r justice, and against false swearing, though that had en the chief topic of discourse with him for above ree years. He was angry at a supposed practice with tneffes, when it fell on his own party; but now that ere were evident proofs of perjury and subornation, he pt proceedings, under pretence of referring it to the ing, who was never made acquainted with it; or at If never enquired after the proof of these allegations, r ordered any proceedings against them." y o

The main business of this parliament, was the act con- The Test ming the new TEST. The bill was brought in and act. ted in one day, viz. on the 31st of August, though matters contained in it were of fuch importance as quired the most mature deliberation." It had been pro- Burnet, sed, at the beginning of the session, that, upon pas- Ibid. g an act for maintaining the Succession, all the ferity, they could desire, for the prtotestant religion, should given. Accordingly, when the first act relating to

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1681, religion was read and passed, it appeared so gene that many thought it an infufficient fecurity, and the fore, " a test was proposed, for all that should be cap of any office in church or state, or of electing or be elected Members of Parliament, that they should adhe firmly to the protestant religion; but then the con thought proper to burthen this with a declaration again ALL refistance, a renouncing the Covenants, and and gation to defend the King's rights and prerogative and never to meet to treat of any matters civil or ed fiaftical, but by permission from the throne, and new to attempt any alteration of the government, either church or state." This became matter of great debat and with difficulty a clause was got in, ratifying the fession of Faith established by the first Parliament JAMES VI. 1567. But then the King's LAWFUL and brothers were expresly excepted from this test. fhort, the act past by a majority only of seven votes.

Argyle's opposition to the test act.

The Earl of Argyle, in reasoning upon the oath joyned by the act, faid, "He was of opinion, that " few publick oaths should be required as might " and these as short and clear as possible; he though every small addition to the oaths in force these e years, might fuffice, fince it is evident, the oat allegiance and declaration had effectually debarred Fanaticks from places of trust, all this time. " true, some Papists have swallowed them, but a w " or two of addition might likewise hold them ou He likewise opposed the concluding clause excepting King's LAWFUL fons and brothers, and faid, " It " our happiness, that the King and people were of " religion by law; and he hoped the Parliament wo do nothing, to loofe what was fast, or open a gap " the royal family to differ in religion; and there " wished, if any exception were made, it might " made particular for his Royal Highness." Commissioner rising up, opposed this openly; who upon the Earl concluded with his fears, "That if " exception did pass, it would do more prejudice to " protestant religion than all the rest of the act, " many acts, would do good." 10

I cannot here omit one thing taken notice of by Bi- 1681. hop Burnet, who fays, that " fome proposed, that there would be two tests; one for Papists with higher incapa- p. 516. ties, and another for Presbyterians with milder censures. ut that was rejected with much fcorn, fome making eir court by faying, they were more in danger from ne Presbyterians than from the Papists; and it was reorted that Paterson, then Bishop of Edinburgh, said to e Duke, that he thought the two religions, popish and rotestant, were so equally stated in his mind, that a few rains of loyalty, in which the Protestants had the better f the Papists, turned the ballance with him." Well, e act passed, by which all in places of trust in church flate (the King's LAWFUL brother and sons only exceptwere obliged to take the following oath by the first January next:

"IN. N. folemnly swear, in presence of the eter- The

nal God, whom I invocate as judge and witness of TEST. my fincere intention in this my oath, that I own and fincerely profess the true protestant religion, contained in the Confession of Faith, recorded in the first Parliament of King JAMES VI. and that I believe the fame to be founded on, and agreeable to the written word of God: and I promise and swear, that I shall adhere thereunto during all the days of my lifetime, and shall endeavour to educate my children therein, and shall never consent to any change or alteration contrary thereunto; and that I disown and renounce all fuch principles, doctrines or practices, whether popish or fanatical, which are contrary unto, and inconfiftent with the faid protestant religion and Confession of Faith: and for testification of my obedience to my most gracious Sovereign CHARLES II. I do affirm and swear, by this my solemn oath, that the King's Majesty is the ONLY supreme governor of this realm, over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; and that no foreign prince, person, pope, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preheminency, or authority ecclefiaftical or civil, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forfake all YOL. II. " foreign

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1681. " foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities and aut " rities; and do promife, that, from henceford " shall bear faith and true allegiance to the King's " jefty, his heirs and lawful fuccessors; and, to co power, shall affist and defend all rights, jurisdiction " prerogatives, privileges, preheminencies and and " rities belonging to the King's Majesty, his hein; " lawful fuccessors: and I further affirm and swear, "this my folemn oath, that I judge it unlawful for e jects, upon pretence of reformation, or any pres what somever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or " convocate, convene, or affemble in any count " conventions or affemblies, to treat, confult, or termine, in any matter of state, civil or ecclesiasti " without his Majesty's special command or express " cence had thereunto, or to take up arms against "King, or those commissionate by him: and the " shall never so rise in arms, or enter into such on " nants or affemblies; and that there lies no obligation " upon me from the National Covenant or the Sol " League and Covenant (fo commonly called) or any of manner of way what somever, to endeavour any chi or alteration in the government either in church " ftate, as it is now established by the laws of this ki " dom: and I promise and swear, that I shall, with " utmost power, defend, affist and maintain his " jesty's jurisdiction foresaid against all deadly; an " shall never decline his Majesty's power and jum "tion, as I shall answer to God. And finally, l " firm and swear, that this my solemn oath is give " the plain genuine sense and meaning of the wo " without any equivocation, mental refervation, or " manner of evalion what somever; and that I shall " accept or use any dispensation from any creature w

" foever. So belp me GOD." If nothing could have been faid against this minable oath, but that the one part of it contradicted other, that was sufficient to have deterred all from ing it. Thus the Confession of Faith, which is fwore to, afferts Christ to be the only King and H Artic. xi. of the Church; and fays, "in which honours and ee fic

fices, if men or angels presume to intrude them. 1681. felves, we utterly deteft and abhor them;" and yet re it is fworn, that the King is the only supreme in causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil. In the said Con-Tion, it is reckoned among good works, "to honour- Artic.xi princes and rulers, to obey their charges not repugning to the commandment of God, to fave the lives of innocents, to repress tyranny, to defend the oppresfed," &c. but here they swear not only to an unnited subjection; but declare it unlawful to take up ms against the King, or those having his commission, on any pretence what soever. My author justly obves, that this oath is a medley of Popery, Prelacy, rastianism and Self-Contradiction; the National Covent, the great bulwark against Popery, is hereby reunced; Prelacy, and the utmost extent of the Suprecy, is swore to. Nay, they swear to maintain the profant religion, and yet to bring in a popish successor. nd though this was at first only designed for those in aces of trust, yet it afterwards became an universal It of loyalty, and the foundation of great persecution, shall be related. And though it may be thought furizing, that fo many fell in with this felf-contradicry and wicked imposition, yet the multitude of wicked ths, bonds and obligations, imposed fince the unhappy foration, took off the impressions on mens minds, as the folemnity of an oath: and fince that wicked genetion had trampled upon the facred Covenants of the naons, it is not to be surprised, though God gave them to strong delusions, and the belief of lies.

It will not be improper to infert here what Bishop urnet says on this subject, when relating the sense of e best of the episcopal clergy, "They were, says he, p. 518. ghly offended at the great extent of the prerogative the point of supremacy, by which the King turned out shops at pleasure by a letter. It was hard enough to tar this; but it seemed intolerable to oblige men, by th, to maintain it. The King might by a proclamaton put down even Episcopacy itself, as the law then ood; and by this oath they would be bound to maintain even that. All meetings in Synods, or for ordinatin even that.

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1681. tions, were, hereafter, to be held only by permission of that all the visible ways of preserving religion, pended now wholly on the King's good pleasure: they faw, that this would be a very feeble tenure und a popish King. The being tied to all this by ou feemed very hard. And when a church was yet in imperfect a state, without liturgy or discipline [the fi mer argued no great imperfection, though the lan did it was a strange imposition to make people sw never to endeavour any alteration either in church state."

Several refused it.

When the test was thus imposed, and all were swear it by the first of January, under the penalt of being for ever incapable of any publick trust, and the loss of their moveable and liferent escheats; the were not many in publick offices made any scruple, cept the Earl of Argyle, of whom we shall hear in proper place. The Earl of Queensberry being a friend was permitted to take the test with an explication. Hope of Hoptoun, scrupling the oath, was divested his office of Sheriff of Linlithgow. The Duches Rothes was urged to take it, but she refused. The Di of Monmouth also refused it. The Duke of Hamilton his scruples concerning it, and was willing the Con cil should name deputies in any jurisdictions belonging him. There were likewise a few others, whom I h not here mention. The Privy Councellors took it the 22d of September, repeating the words of the a on their knees.

The clergy's conduct. Burnet, Ibid.

But the opposition made by some of the conforma clergy, made great noise. Bishop Burnet says, "Som or all of these exceptions mentioned by him above, didn fo generally through the whole body of the clergy, they were all shaking in their resolutions. To preve this, an explanation was drawn by Bishop Paterson ( fays my author, of the most violent defenders of it) a passed in Council. It was by it declared, that it w not meant that those who took the test should be bou to every article in the Confession of Faith, but only in far as it contained the doctrine, upon which the testant churches had settled the reformation; and that

did not cut off those rights, which were acknow- 1681. iged to have been in the primitive church, for the A three hundred years after Christ; and an assurance as given, that the King never intended to change the vernment of the Church. By this it was pretended, at the greatest difficulties were now removed. But to is it was answered, that they were to swear, they took e oath in the literal sense of the words; so that, if this planation was not conform to the literal fense, they ould be perjured, who took it upon this explanation. he imposers of an oath could only declare the sense of ; but that could not be done by any other, much less a lower authority, such as the Privy Council was p. 519. nfessed to be. Yet when men are to be undone, if ey don't fubmit to a hard law, they willingly catch any thing that feems to resolve their doubts. About o, continues the Bishop, of the most learned and pious the clergy, left all, rather than comply with the terms this law; and these were noted to be the best preachers d the most zealous enemies to popery that belonged to that church. The Bishops, who thought their refing the test was a reproach to those who took it, eated them with much contempt, and put them to any hardships."

It is certain, though the bulk of the prelatical clergy Queries of allowed this oath, which shews what fort of men they the Miere, yet several made the best stand they ever made nisters of fore; particularly the Ministers of Aberdeen drew up Aberdeen. me queries against the test, as, 1. How can I swear, at the Confession of Faith is the true standart of the otestant religion, &c. which forbids the resisting of the lagistrate only conditionally, while they pass not over the unds of their office, and fays it is a good work to bear on tyranny? 2. How can I swear, that the King is e only supreme governor over all persons, and in all uses, when the said confession obliges me to believe fus Christ to be the only head of the Church, &c? If I believe the present established Church to be of vine and apostolick authority, how can I swear that it in the King's power to alter or change the same? and it be in its own nature indifferent, how can I swear to

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1681. that, which the King can alter at bis pleasure? 4. Ho can I swear to defend the King's privileges and pres gatives, till I know and confider whether they be a fiftent with the principles of religion, &c? 5. How can swear that I judge it unlawful, upon any pretence what foever, to enter into leagues and covenants without King's confent, when it was lawful, in the first days Christianity, to enter into a covenant with Christ, and league with one another, though not to cast off yoke of fecular princes, yet to cast off the yoke judaism, paganism, and idolatry, even contrary to t express command of earthly sovereigns? And show popery prevail, would it be unlawful for subjects to en into covenant for shaking off the Roman yoke? Du not that claufe, in the test, condemn our reformation Scotland? 6. Can I swear sincerely, that I judge it lawful for subjects, to meet in order to consult or det mine in any matter of state civil or ecclesiastical, who have no fecurity from the test or laws of the land, h that clause may comprehend the affemblies and me ings for the worship of God and the ordinary exercise discipline, especially when all the ecclesiastical meeting are put in the King's hand by the act Nov. 16 1669, &c. And should our meetings for worships discipline be, in process of time, forbid, would it be lawful to meet with one another for these purpola 7. Can I fwear, that I am under no obligations to deavour any alteration of the government in church state, as now established? It must be a perfett constitution tion, that needs no change in any circumstances; yet an alteration in circumstances is a change; yea, confession prescribed in the test, says, that no policy or der of ceremonies in the church, can be appointed for ages, places and times; because, what is now convent may prove burdensome at another time, or in other cumstances. May I not pray to God Almighty to it into the hearts of men, to reform what is amis? A yet to pray is some fort of endeavour. What if the King power in national Synods, by act of parliament, bed structive of the true church-power? What if there something in the act of restitution of Bishops to amended? 8. Is there no more in this test than in

ts of parliament, or former oaths upon which it is 1681. ounded? In the acts against affembling the King's eges, this clause is added (except in ordinary judgnents) but there is no fuch clause in the test, by which fwear, that I judge it unlawful to convene or afmble upon any pretence whatsoever, even though to orship God with others. In the declaration, it is faid, here lieth no obligation upon me from the Covenants endeavour reformation; but the test adds, or upon any ther manner of way. May I not be under some obligaons, tho' from neither of the Covenants? And tho' I e under no obligation for the present; may I not be nder some afterwards? If there be no more in this test nan in former oaths, why is it imposed on those, who bok the declaration, &c? To all this might be added he evil of imposing and multiplying oaths.

There were several other things published at this time y some of the conformist clergy against the test. ishop and Synod of Aberdeen, the Bishop of Dunkeld, nd Synod of Perth, published their respective explicaons of this oath, declaring the fense in which they took

This unexpected ftir among the clergy made the nanagers look about them, so that, as we have heard, ishop Pater son and the Council made a fort of explicaon of it, which was approved of by the King: howver, the generality went into it; fo that those who reised it were exposed to persecution, and several quitted heir charges; for the Council made an act, requiring te patrons to provide fit and qualified persons, in the om of those who should, undutifully, refuse to take he test, betwixt and the first of January; certifying, hat if the patrons did not comply with this, they should e esteemed persons disaffected to his Majesty's person nd government. I shall only remark, that if some of le conformable clergy, who, for once, became recusants, egan to feel a little of the wholesome severities of the lanagers, the reader cannot be surprized at the sufrings of the Presbyterians.

During these proceedings about the test, several oc-Mr. Gaarrences happened, which it will not be improper to re-Semple. te. Accordingly, on the first of October, Mr. Gaiel Semple, who had been prisoner for some time, was,

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1681. in consequence of a petition he presented, ordered to released, upon bond to appear when called, under penalty of 10000 merks. This worthy minister was in of Sir Bryce Semple of Cathcart, and was ordained M nister of Kirkpatrick-durbam, from which he was ejection by the Glasgow-act (vol. I. p. 145.) He then repair to the house of Corsack, where he preached to all the came to hear him; but the numbers were fo great, the he was obliged to take to the fields, and preach there and these were the first Field-meetings in Scotland When he found himself obliged to leave that house, M John Welsh continued and kept up those meetings the open fields from mere necessity. Soon after, M Semple returned to Galloway, joined Mr. Welsh, continued preaching along with him till Pentla About a year after that, being intercommuned (vol. p. 255) he went to Ireland, and from thence to the by ders of England. After absconding for some time, preached at Hafelridge, and dispensed the Lord's Su per, having Dr. Rule, and another Minister from In wick, affifting him. As the incumbent of Ford was poor melancholy person, Mr. Semple, through the go nature of several Gentlemen in that neighbourhood, possession of that church for some years, and dispense the Word and Sacraments, with great success, and the rude borderers. He continued there till the da of his confort, the daughter of Sir Walter Riddle Riddel; so that a little before Bothwel, he returned Scotland; but the divisions in the West-country-army vented his joining in that enterprize. He was appropriately hended by a party of the Guards, being then ill of

ague. Nevertheless, he was carried to the Canony

prison, where he continued till the parliament

year was up. Soon after he was released, he was call

before a Committee of the Council, on pretence

his petition was forged. The Clerk, in reading it, add

fome words of his own. Mr. Semple being asked if owned that petition, desired to see it; and observe

that it was the same he had given in, but that the Cla

had read it otherwise than it was, declared, that

was the paper he had given in, thanked them for

## hap. 7. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

ent to his Majesty. Then he was dismissed, withnt being obliged to renew his bond for his appearance.
It how unjustly people were ensured at this time,
not be lest with the reader. In a few weeks he was
not sain summoned before them; but, by the advice of his
lends, he went to England, and continued there till the
ling's death. After the revolution, he was settled at
adburgh, where he finished his course with joy 1706.
In to return.

On the 7th of October, Robert Garnock hammerman Five con-Stirling, Patrick Forman in the parish of Alloa, David demned airie, James Stuart, George Lapfley and Alexander Ruf- and exewere before the Justiciary. They had all disclaimed cuted. e King's authority, and now adhered to their conffions, and were fentenced to be hanged at the gallow-, between Leith and Edinburgh, on the tenth. George appley, some way or another, got off. Robert Garnoch d been two years in prison. James Stuart was but a buth; he happened to come from the West to see a lation who was in prison at Edinburgh: his friend got at, and he being found in the room, was brought bere a Committee of the Council, and foon enfnared by eir questions. When he was filent as to some things, r George Mackenzie threatned to pull his tongue out ith a pair of pinchers. How hard it was to take up erfons, against whom no matter of fact could be prov-, and to condemn them to death upon the answers ey gave to their enfnaring questions, must be left ith the reader. Before the Jury withdrew, the priners gave them a figned protestation, "advising them to onfider what they were doing, and declaring, that they ere no rebels, nor disowned any authority, which was cording to the word of God and Covenants, which the nd was bound by. They charged them to confider, ow deep a guilt Covenant-breaking was, and put them mind, that they were to answer before the great udge of all, for what they did in this matter. And fter mentioning several acts of their injustice and cruty, they affured them, that their blood would, one ay, lie heavy upon them." However, the Jury brought Vor. II.

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them in guilty, and except George Lapsley, they were executed at the gallow-lee, according to their fentem. Their testimonies are in the Cloud of Witnesses. The reason why the place of execution was changed, was a cause the multitude of executions at the Cross as Grass-market drew such a number of spectators, who were so much moved at the conduct of the sufferent that it was thought expedient to put them to dear where the most notorious malesactors used to be executed. Their bodies were buried under the gallow and their heads and hands set up on the Pleasure.

Their beads afterwards buried, 1726. port.

Mr. James Renwick was a spectator of this execution and being now much esteemed by the suffering was derers, to whom he had joined himself, he assemble some friends, and removed the bodies of these smartyrs, in the night-time, and interred them in the West-Church-yard of Edinburgh. They likewise took down their heads and hands; but not being able to bury them with their bodies, they interred them in the garden of one Alexander Tweedie, who was with them where they lay till the 7th of October 1726, when they were taken up, and buried on the 19th. P. Walke who was present, gives a particular account of this in terment, which I dont think material to insert here.

Proclamation against forfeited beritors.

On the 8th of October, the Council being information that many heritors, who had been forfeited, in absence for Bothwel, refided at or near their own dwelling houses, issued a proclamation for apprehending an bringing to justice all mentioned (p. 131, 132) to ther with Gilbert M'lewrath of Dumchory, Tho. Ma jarrow of Bar, John Macjarrow of Penjarrow, Hem Macjarrow of Athalbany, Geo. M'Chir of Benman, Ha M'lewrath of Auchinflour, John Alexander of Dumochy, Munken in Hilkertoun, Alan Bowy of Drumley, James Wood in Air, Pat. M'dougal of Freugh, Mr. Wil. and Alex. Gordons of Earlstoun, Mr. Will. Fergusson of Kail loch, Dumbar younger of Machirmoir, John Bell of While side, John Gibson of Auchinchero, Gibson younger of h glistoun, Gordon of Dendeugh, Grier of Dalgonar, Smill of Kilroch, M'lellan of Barmagechan, Gordon of Craigh Lennox

mnox of Irelandtoun, Gordon of Barbarran, John Fow- 1681. rtoun of Auchinchrie, Dav. M'culloch fon to Ardwell, ill. Whithead of Milnhouse, John Welsh of Cornley, leilson of Corsack, Rob. M'lellan of Barscob, his brother muel, Fullertoun of Nethermill, Geo. Macartney of laiket, Gordon of Garrery, Gordon of Knockgrey, Herron Littlepark, Gordon of Holm, Gordon of Overbar, John inaught of Culgnad, Murdoch alias Laird Murdoch, nd. Sword in Galloway, and John Malcolm in Dalry in alloway.

On the 11th of October, John Drysdale, James Pol-Some back, James Wharrey, and John Anderson, were banished nished. r Conventicles. Nothing could be proved against em, only they would not swear against themselves.

The severities against the Nonconformists encouraged Greenveral to turn informers, by whom many were brought shiels, much trouble. There was particularly an idle wicked llow, one Greenshiels a weaver, who offered his service fome of the Counsellors; accordingly, orders were iven, to the commanding officer at Glasgow, to fur-In this new tool with what men he pleased. Having ot a party of about 20 foldiers, he came, about midght, to the house of Douchal, in the parish of Kilmamb. The Gentleman asking the reason of their disbring him at that time of night, Greenshiels told him, e had orders to fearch his house for Field-preachers, &c. the doors were opened, but none could be found: lowever, the Gentleman was obliged to fuffer them to uarter upon him for feveral days, till they had conamed most of the family provision. At last, they fled the house, took away the filver spoons and knives, nd then retired. It is true, Greenshiels was taken, and, he spoons being found about him, was ordered to be hipt. This was one piece of justice. The reader may adge, what the encouragers and employers of fuch a illain must deserve.

Some time in this month of October, the Duke of Duke of ork made another progress to the West, and declared York's seimfelf much pleased with the respect, that was paid cond proim, and the entertainment he met with: but it seems gress. e foon forgot all this, when he afterwards declared,

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1681. that it would never be well, till all on the fouth fide of Forth were made a bunting-field. His mirth was in terrupted by a protest, that was put into his hands h one of the focieties, as he was going along the street Glasgow. In this paper, " they protested against the "King in all his tyranny, heading, hanging, &c. th " people of God; against the test, and welcoming " a Papist to Scotland, with a draught of the blood " the faints at two different times, &c. whereas," in they, " he ought to be punished with such loading " punishments as the word of God allows to be inflict " ed on profest idolaters, &c." The Duke, upon read ing the paper, did not think it proper, to take much me tice of it for the present. However, it made him fulle and pensive; so that he hasted from Glasgow, as for as he could; and it is remarkable, that none concerned in it, were ever discovered.

Sir Pat.

On the 3d of November, Sir Pat. Hepburn of Blad Hepburn. castle was fined in two hundred pounds sterl, for has bouring and conversing with Mr. Semple.

Mr. Veitch. Ec.

The same day, Mr. John Hutchison indulged Dundonald, Mr. James Veitch at Mauchlin, and M Robt. Miller at Ochiltree, were charged for breaking their instructions and excommunicating, or debarra from the Lord's Table, those who had taken the deck ration and bond of peace, and renounced the Covenant , and not appearing, were ordered to be denounced an put to the horn. On the 24th, Mr. Veitch appeared to fore the Council, and petitioned against the said so tence; but the Advocate brought a new charge again him, for taking parents engaged, when he baptize their children, to bring them up according to the a venants, and for breaking his confinement. Mr. Veital pleaded, Not goilty; and no proof being ready, wa acquitted. Mr. Hutchison got not so well off; for what he appeared some months after, and refusing to answer upon oath to his charge, was deprived of his indulgend The same 24th of November, Tho. Crawford was to leased from a long imprisonment; but Mr. Tho. Archi was still kept in hold, until they should get witness against him. We shall hear more of him afterwards. Matter

Matters were now come to a very low pass; for on 1681. one hand, the generality of the presbyterian Ministers d so far complied with the indulgences, that they, who General ictly adhered to the principles maintained by Mr. Ca-correfron and Mr. Cargill, had no freedom to submit to pondence. em; and having none now to officiate among them

Ministers, fince the martyrdom of Mr. Cargill, ey judged it expedient, in their present distressed cirmstances, to form themselves into Societies; and the tter to maintain the common cause of religion and lirty, they united in a GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE to kept up, thro' the shires severally, and all the shires njunctly, where such, as owned their testimony against opery, Prelacy, Erastianism and Tyranny, resided. By is means, though they were still the more open to e resentment of their persecutors, yet they attained to better understanding of one another, and were in a pacity to contribute more to their mutual advantage. hey had their first general meeting on the 15th of ecember this year, at the Logan-house, in the parish of esmahago, in the shire of Lanerk, where they agreed on their testimony against the last Parliament, the uke of York a Papist, as being Commissioner, and apbinted it to be published at the Market-cross of Lanerk, n the 12th January next year. They held their geeral meetings once a quarter, or oftener, as they could oft conveniently.

But the most remarkable thing, about this time, was Prosecuhe profecution of Archbald Earl of Argyle for his explica-tion of the on of the TEST, which he had before opposed in Par- Earl of Argyle. ament. This noble Peer was the representative of one f the most antient and powerful families in Scotland; nd, by reason of the offices he held, was comprehended

nder the Test-act.

When the Earl was at Edinburgh, he was ordered, The Earl's y one of the clerks of the Council, to attend next explicaouncil day and take the test. The Earl, upon this, tion of the vent to the Duke of York, and complained of this treatnent, fince the time appointed by the Parliament was ot yet expired; but all was to no purpose. The DUKE lanted to get rid of this noble peer, who stood in the

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naged, that the Earl, with the approbation both of Duke and Council, was permitted to take the oath what an explanation, which indeed was no more than the Council themselves had done, as has been related which makes their treatment of him the more base at unaccountable. Accordingly, on the third of November, his Lordship came to the Council, and, with a low voice, made the following explanatory declaration, "have considered the test, and am desirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am consident the Path is liament never intended to impose contradictory oath therefore I think no man can explain it, but for him therefore I think no man can explain it, but for him therefore I think no man can explain it, but for him therefore I think no man can explain it, but for him the self. Accordingly, I take it in as far as it is considered to the protestant religion: and

" fistent with itself, and the protestant religion; and do declare, I mean not to bind up myself in myself

tion, and in a lawful way to wish and endeavourant alteration, I think, to the advantage of the Church or State, not repugnant to the protestant religion and

" my loyalty; and this I understand as a part of m " oath." Then the oath was administered to him and immediately he took his place as a Privy-Com

cellor.

was displeasing. Next day, November the 4th, he waited on his Rope Highness, by whom he was told, that his explication did not please him; that he thought it was to be a short one, like Queensberry's, and added, Well, it passed with you, but it shall pass so with no other. The Earl understood this as an acceptance, and that, if he had committed any fault, the Duke had passed it over, and would push the matter no further. But his Lordship was mistaken; for a design was formed to prosecute him for high-treason, on account of bis explanation; and the same day, Argyle was called before the Council, as a Commissioner of the treasury again to take the test. When there this was not a requiring a vain repetition of the oath, must be left with the reader.

A copy of it pro-

The Earl offered to take the test, as before; where upon a member of the Council defired the words might be repeated. His Lordship observing a design upon him, declined repeating, till being urged by the Duke

ap. 7: told, that he had committed to writing what he 1681. d delivered, to prevent mistakes, which was produced d read. Argyle would have figned it; but perceiving eir intentions, he waved that : upon which he was reoved; and, after they had concerted their measures nong themselves, was called in again, and told, that had not given the fatisfaction required by the act of rliament, and fo could not fit in Council, nor act as Commissioner of the treasury. His Lordship made a oper reply, and removed.

Next morning, November the 5th, he waited on the A confe-

ike, and expressed his surprize, that what he had said, rence behis explication, should be thought a crime. The tween the ike faid, that the words were unnecessary and the Earl. oundless, and that he was not tied up by the oath, as imagined; and, after a pause, added, As I have aldy told you, you have cheated yourself, you have taken TEST. Then the Earl answered, that he hoped his ghness was satisfied. The Duke then complained, at the Earl had not voted the Council's explication. gyle answered, that he was not present at the detes. The Duke infifted, that he could not but unrstand the affair, and added, with a frown, You, with ne others, have designed to-bring trouble upon a handful poor Catholicks, that would live peaceably, however y were used; but it should light upon others. This was in dealing, and shewed what was to be expected, when should have the whole management in his own They parted, after the Duke had laid his cominds on him, not to go out of town, till he faw him ain, which his Lordship complied with.

The design against the Earl being now formed, he He quas s ordered, that same night, to continue at Edinburgh imprisoned next Council day, which was November 8, when the and orderuncil sent one of their Clerks to command him to ed to be ter himself prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh before o'clock next day, which he also complied with, and dered the Advocate to pursue him for treason, or th other crimes, as shall be thought convenient, as the of Council more fully bears; and, at the fame ne, they wrote an account of their proceedings to the

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King; but it is remarkable, that they ordered noble peer to be profecuted as above, before they any permission from the King.

Strange proceedings.

On the 22d of November, the King's letter, dan November 15, was read in Council, in which he fig fied his approbation of their proceedings against Earl; only required them to acquaint him, before the came to any sentence. But before the Council had return, Argyle was fummoned to answer a charge leasing-making, and depraving the King's laws. And so was the baseness of his Lordship's persecutors, that the pretended, nay one of them told him, that nothing intended against him, but to take his heritable of from him. And when the Duke of York was told, it was hard measure, upon such grounds, to threat fuch a person with the forfeiture of life and fortune, answered, Life and fortune! God forbid; and if her privy to the defigns then formed, he acted only fuith to his religion. When the King's letter was receive the Advocate was appointed to form an indictment if treason and perjury, as leasing-making and depravia the King's laws, to which he was to answer, beforet Lords of Justiciary, on the 12th of December next.

On the 12th of December, his Lordship was brown ment read, before the Justiciary, confisting of the Earl of Quan berry Justice General, Lords Nairn, Collingtoun, Ford Newtoun and Kirkhouse. The indictment was read, which he was charged with declaring against and faming the act injoyning the test, by infinuating, the Parliament had imposed a contradictory oath, that the faid oath was inconfiftent with itself, and the protestant religion; and consequently, that the Kin and Parliament had acted inconfiftent with the testant religion, and for treasonably invading the ro legislative power, &c. as the indictment itself more ful bears. An unbiaffed reader, by comparing this Not man's explication with his indictment, will fee, that crimes charged upon him, were without any folid for Sir George Lochart, and Sir John Dalrym pleaded with great accuracy and judgment for Earl; fo that the debates continued till nine o'clock night

ght. There were but four of the Lords with the 1681. uftice General, at the debates. The Lord Nairn, who as then old and infirm, could not continue all the ne of the trial, and so went home to bed. The Lords ollingtoun and Kirkbouse insisted, that the Earl was not uilty of leasing-making and treason. And the other 10, viz. Newtoun and Forret, insisted that he was. ueensberry, not chusing to give the casting vote against e Earl, Nairn was brought from his bed to the Court, at numbers might supply the want of law and reason, d gave his vote against the Earl. It was two in the Interlocuorning before these things were over, and then they tor projourned till next day, when the Lords pronounced nounced, eir interlocutor, wherein they declared the Earl's dences, with respect to perjury, to be sufficient, but ot with respect to treason and leasing-making.

The paper delivered by the Earl, containing his ex- brought in ication of the test, was then produced as evidence guilty. ainst him; whereupon the Jury withdrew, and, in a tle, brought in their verdict, that the Earl was guilty treason, leasing-making and leasing-telling; but not ilty of perjury. The Council, upon this, met, and rote an account of what had passed to the King; om all which it is evident, that a design was formed ainst the Earl's life. Bishop Burnet says, "No sen- p. 521. nce, in our age, was more univerfally cried out on an this. All people spoke of it, and of the DUKE, to drove it on, with horror. All that was faid to ien that, was, that Duke Lauderdale had restored the mily with fuch an extended jurisdicton, that he was ally the master of all the Highlands; so that it was to attaint him, that by a new restoring them, these ants might be better limited."

However, all his friends were of opinion, that he made his ght to provide for his fafety. A Gentleman was dif-escape, tched to Court by the Earl, who, as foon as the King's nd, in answer to the Council's letter, was known, came , and outrode the bearer of it. By him Argyle found, at the sentence of death was to be passed upon him, d that the King would be prevailed with to yield to e execution; nay, before the faid Gentleman's arri-Vol. II. val.

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1681. val, his Lordship had notice, that on the 21st hem to be fent to the common jail, to which Peers used be removed a few days before their execution; and then fore on Tuesday the 20th, about eight in the evening, came out in disguise, and very narrowly escaped.

When the Earl got out, he rode, without stopping to a country ale-house, near the house of Mr. Gen Pringle of Torwoodlee, who, by confert, was to me him there, and conduct him to Mr. William Veitel house in Northumberland. The Earl went by the name

of Mr. Hope.

got Safe to London.

Mr. Hope and Mr. Pringle came fafe to Mr. Veitel while he was at Berwick, visiting his friends, and on tinued there till Saturday se'enight, when Mr. Vin came home. The beginning of the following wet Mr. Hope, Mr. Veitch, and two servants, set out fi London, but they were obliged to part with the two k vants on the road, to prevent suspicion; for the alm of the Earl's escape was now general, and a reward 500 pounds was offered to any who should appreha him. However, he and Mr. Veitch got fafe to h tersea near London, where they were conducted tot house of one Mr. Smith a sugar-baker, whose Lady a Gentlewoman of great piety, prudence and generoli He continued concealed in and about London, till her

p. 522.

over to Holland. Bishop Burnet says, "One that is him, knew him, and went and told the King of but he would have no fearch made for him, and tained still very good thoughts of him." But to return

Edinburgh.

sed upon him.

Sentence of The Day after Argyle's escape, the Council issued death paf- proclamation for apprehending him; a copy of whi they fent to the King, and next day they had a rett to their former letter, wherein his Majesty, as and dence of the good thoughts he had of the Earl, allow sentence of death to be passed upon him. According on the twenty-third, the Lords of Justiciary, virtue of an order of Council, whose tools they we passed sentence accordingly, ordering the Earl to bet ecuted when apprehended, in what manner the Ki should appoint. The Parliament, after the revolution

as so sensible of the injustice of this sentence, that they 1681. ot only repealed his attainder, but also allowed his son bring an action of damages, for a confiderable fum, gainst the heirs of those judges, who condemned his faer. I shall only add here, that it was upon this sennce that Argyle was executed 1685, as shall be relatlin its proper place.

When the managers were disappointed by the Earl's Ministers cape, they went on to persecute the Presbyterians, est-persecuted. ecially their Ministers, many of whom had not accepted e indulgence; and though they did not chuse to preach the fields, because of the severity of the times, yet ey preached as frequently in houses, as they could ith conveniency. The Duke of York mightily cafled the Bishops, and supported them in all their meares against their nonconformist brethren; for 'tis the easure of Papists to see Protestants devouring one other; fo that there was scarcely a Presbyterian came fore the Council, that met with any favour. This ppeared very evident in the case of the revd. Mr. Fra-r of Brae (vol. I. p. 297, 298.)

This Minister had been informed against for a Field-Mr. Franventicle, whereupon he and his bail were summoned zer of Brae, fore the Council in November last; but some of the embers being affured, that it was only a House-conventhe, the citation was dropt. Mean while, when Mr. razer went north, he was feized with an ague. His il, Sir H. Campbel of Calder, proposed writing to the dvocate, or Bishop Paterson. Mr. Frazer was against is, because, as he told Sir Hugh, did the Prelates hear his indisposition, they would push his citation the rder, that, in case of non-appearance, his bond of 000 merks might be forfeited, &c. Nevertheless, the entleman wrote to the Bishop, acquainting him, that r. Frazer had not preached in the fields, and was now ngeroufly ill.

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The Bishop, upon receiving this letter, ordered mat- summoned is so, that next day Mr. Frazer was summoned to ap-before the ar before the Council on the 22d of December. Sir Council, ugh was a Gentleman of a good estate, and had been il for presbyterian Ministers for upwards of 1700 l.

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would not be able to attend, and Sir Hugb's bond in 5000 merks would be forfeited; but Mr. Frazer, in ther than his bail should suffer on his account, notwing standing his own indisposition, the inclemency of the season, and the danger his life was in, considering whe stretches had been made in the case of Argyle, under took the journey, and came to Edinburgh the day being the time appointed for his appearance.

made bis appearance.

The Bishops and Council were not a little surprise to see him at the bar. After some silence, his indit ment was read, wherein he was charged with preaching in the fields, and without authority, and venting pen cious and rebellious principles, &c. and for proof, t matter was put to his oath. He defired a delay for few days, but that was refused. However, he obtain liberty to speak, and, in his speech, told them, that had not preached in the fields, fince he came from Bass, nor yet without authority; that he had not preached feditious principles, nor doctrines inconfile with the scripture and the Confession of Faith, composed King JAMES VI's time, which he conceived, was the the Parliament had ratified; that he acknowledged gistracy, as an ordinance of God, and owned the King authority, even in ecclefiastical matters, as the must father of the church: but that it remained underial that this power of the Magistrate was not privative an intrinsick power in the church granted her by Chi for preserving and edifying herself; that he could comply with the government of the church by Ard shops and Bishops, &c and that, as to his practice, endeavoured to keep a good conscience both before and man, &c.

fined.

Some of the Councellors were for releasing him; the Bishops were against it, and represented him a dangerous man, that ought to be made an example for the terror of others. They were intrusted with drawing up of his sentence, by which he was ordered pay 5000 merks for Conventicles, and to be sent Blackness, till he paid it. While he was imprisoned Edinburgh, he preached to the prisoners on the Low Day. All his petitions for liberty were, for some time rejects

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ected; so that after he had been six weeks in prison 168 r. Edinburgh, he was fent to Blackness Castle, where he ntinued about seven weeks more. When the Duke York returned to England, his friends embraced that portunity to intercede for his release, upon giving nd that he should leave the kingdom. Accordingly, released. was released and went to London, where we shall eet with him again.

## CHAP. VIII.

the declaration at Lanerk; some further proceedings about the Test; the actings of the Council against Conventicles; the publick executions, and other branches of persecution, during the year 1682.

Y the act of Parliament last year, persons in publick 1682. offices had till the first of January this year to take e test; and though some few Papists refused it, yet re was taken of them by the Duke of York and his eatures, fo that they were no great losers; which was of the case with protestant recusants.

On the 5th of Jan. the Laird of Meldrum being apinted Sheriff-deputy of East Lothian, was empowered use all methods possible for suppressing Conventicles ere.

On the 7th, the Council fent a lift to the King of ofe offices and jurisdictions, which were become vacant, the refusal of the test, and of those whom they thought ere fit to succeed in them, which his Majesty apoved of.

On the 9th, the sentence of forseiture was pronounced Several the Justiciary against Geo. Arthur of Bunnahill, James forfitted. re of Shargartoun, Donald Connel in Bucklyvie, heritors Stirlingshire, Tho. Russel of Middleridge, Ed. Marshal Kaemuir, John Taylor elder in Holehouse, John Schaw n to John Schaw of Easter Greenhill, Geo. Mochrie lar of Stonrig, and Tho. Fengusson of Finnerts, in the fhire

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among many others, who in November last were pointed to be prosecuted before the Justices, for be accessary to Bothwel.

Mr. Fergusson of Finnarts.

The last of those Gentlemen was not accessary and both boule; he had an estate, and was a Presbyteria. The only proof of any such thing, was, that two me swore, that a little before Both wel, a boy came from house in Ballantree, where Mr. Fergusson was, and was ed all the neighbourhood, who had a mind to join to party in arms, to repair to the said house, to receive money and arms: but had this been true, the reader to judge for himself, whether it was a sufficient groun for a forfeiture of life and fortune. Many were thardships he and his family were put to after this.

Sufferings of the family of Shargartoun.

The fufferings of the family of James Ure of Shares toun were likewise very considerable, during this perm His house was frequently pillaged by parties of solder When he was forfeited after Bothwel, where he behave with courage, his rents and moveables were all fein and many times parties were in fearch for him; but happily escaped. His mother, a Gentlewoman about years of age, was put in prison at Glasgow, where died, notwithstanding all the interest that was made her. Mean while, a hundred pounds Scots was offer to any who should apprehend Shargartoun, dead alive; but he escaped to Ireland, where he continu half a year. Then he ventured home; but w obliged to conceal himself in the fields; so that, dum the winter 1684, he lay in the wood of Balquban for veral weeks. His Lady was apprehended for conve ing with her own husband, and carried prisoner to 3 ling, with a fucking-child at her breast, and from them to Edinburgh, and put into the Canongate jail. At la the managers, being ashamed of this piece of condu thought fit to release her. Shargartoun survived troubles, and lived till after the unnatural rebellion 171 when he faw vengeance overtake some of his persecutor

Vacant parishes.

On the 12th, the Council ordered letters to be we to the Patrons of 21 parishes now vacant, by the misters refusing the test, to plant them with proper parishes.

ns, with all convenient speed; so that here were 21 1682. the prelatical clergy, who scrupled the test. Hower, some of them got their scruples removed, partilarly Mr. Alex. Wood, Minister of Cockpen, who, upon king this oath, was ordered to get a new presentation to his parish. The same orders had been given the Magistrates of Aberdeen, with respect to the Misters there.

On the faid 12th of fan. the DECLARATION appoint- DECLAby the fociety of general-correspondence (p. 123, 124) RATION as published at Lanerk according to their order. Of at Lanerk.

hich the following is a short extract.

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" Although we ought to take in good part, what- Informaever God, in his infinite wisdom, hath \_\_\_\_ carved tory Vinout unto us, — and acknowledge government and edit. 1744, governors, as ordained by him, in so far as they p.g., &c. rule and govern according to the rules, fet down by him in his word, and constitutive laws of the nation; —— yet when all these laws —— are cass'd and annulled by pretended laws, and the highest of usurpation, and an inexplicable prerogative in matters ecclefiaftic, and arbitrary government in matters civil. is arrogate, when a banner of impiety, &c. is difplayed, — when the parliaments — are fo prelimited by law, as that no true fon of the state or church hath liberty to fit and vote there. — What shall the people do in such an extremity? should they give their reason as men, their consciences as christians, and refign their liberties, fortunes, religion and their ALL to the inexorable obstinacy, incurable wilfulness and malice of those who, in spite of God and man, — are refolved to make their own will the absolute and sovereign rule of their actions? ----Shall the end of government be loft, through the weakness, wickedness and tyranny of governors? - Have not the people, in fuch an extremity, good ground to make use of that natural and radical power they have, to shake off that yoke? --which accordingly the Lord honoured us (in a general and unprelimited meeting of the estates and shires in Scotland) to do; a convention of unprelimited mem-

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1682. "God and the good of the commonweath before their eya, " At which Convention, HE was, most legally and by " general confent, cast off by the DECLARATION &

72, 33.

\* See page " \* Sangubar. But that we may not feem to have done " that, or yet to do the like, upon no grounds, we shall hint at some of the many thousands of mile "demeanors of the now cast off TYRANT. --- And, I 46 At his very entry, at one blow, in his first Parlia. " ment, he cut off the neck of that noble constitution

of church and state, which our noble and worthy an cestors had made. 2. Did he not take to himselfa " licentious privilege, the exalting himself unto a sphere

" exceeding all measures, divine and human, both in " matters civil and ecclefiaftick, making us a laughing

" flock to the nations, --- who fay, we have only the " law of \* letters instead of the letter of the law!

" 3. Hath he not adjourned and dissolved Parliament " at his pleasure? 4. Hath he not seated himself, as in " preme head over all persons civil and ecclesiastick

" --- and oppressed the godly for conscience sake! 5. Time will fail us to narrate what exorb " tant taxings, cessings, &c. delapidating the rights and

" revenues of the crown, for no other end, but to em " ploy them for keeping up a brothel, rather than a

" court. - 6. He hath, in a late Parliament, is " cured the succession to such a one, if not worse that

" himself, formed the test, &c." In the conclusion, they offer to prove, that they have done nothing con trary to the ancient laws of the kingdom; but only en deavoured to extricate themselves from a yoke of ty

ranny, and to reduce church and state to what the were in 1648, 1649.

In the informatory vindication, some expressions as acknowledged to be very exceptionable, fuch as the at tributing to the publishers of the Sangubar Declaration the title of a Convention of Estates; and in other expre fions, feeming to appropriate authority to its own and thor. And as to the matter of the declaration, relating to their renouncing the authority that then was, enoug has been faid already. There were several present

\* King's letters.

P. 43.

the publication of this in arms, when a copy of it was 1682. fixed to the market-cross. Mr. James Renwick (p. 147, 148) was employed in proclaiming this, but had no hand in drawing it up; otherwise, says the revd. Mr. Shields, in some things it had been more considerately worded; for though he approved of the matter of it, and the reasons given for disowning the authority of the yrant, yet he always confessed, there were some expressions in it very unadvised. It was here they burnt

he Test and the Ast of Succession.

When the news of this came to Edinburgh, the Coun- Solemn il, on the 14th of January, wrote to the King an ac- League count of the declaration, that had been published, and and made an act for burning the SOLEMN LEAGUE and Co- &c. burnt VENANT, the declarations published at Rutherglen and at Edin-Sangubar, and this at Lanerk. This was done with great burgh. bomp. A large theatre was erected at the Cross, and ome of the Magistrates attended in their robes, until hese papers were burnt by the hangman: but it was taken particular notice of, that the Bailie of Edinburgh, who attended on this fervice, had a house of his con-

fumed by fire foon after.

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The town of Lanerk was fined in 6000 merks for not Major hindering the declaration to be published there, though White's t was not in their power to prevent it: and the shire instructions. uffered exceedingly on this aacount; for Major White was ordered to march thither with some forces; and, by he instructions he received, was impowered to get a ift of all forfeited persons, to inform himself of the aunts and lurking places of the rebels, as they were alled, of all that received or harboured them, and paricularly, of those concerned in the above declaration; o feize and apprehend them, to diffipate Convenicles, &c. Many other Commissions of this kind were, fterwards, given.

On the 27th, Claverbouse was sent into Galloway to Commisxecute military orders there; and on the 30th, he re-fron to eived a commission, as Sheriff of Wigtoun, to punish all Claver-house, &c. liforders, difturbance of the peace and church-irregulaities in Kirkcudbright, Annandale, Wigtoun and Dumfries. There was likewife a proclamation issued, for furnishing VOL. II.

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1682. the foldiers with corn, hay and straw for ready money but as this was neither observed, nor the delinque called to an account, the country was exposed to no im oppression. The same powers were, in a few day granted to Major White and Meldrum in the shire \* A power Lanerk, together with a \* justiciary power against:

of judging below heritors, who had been in, what they called, of life and rebellion. However, Duke Hamilton had fo much

terest, as to get these a little softened. On the 31st, the Council wrote to the King, a moved, that the jurisdictions of the late Earl of Any

might be fore ver annexed to to the crown.

Parliament adjourned.

The Parliament, which was to fit in March, was a journed to the 17th of April, and from that to Nova ber; and though in one of these proclamations to King was made to fay, that he will not foon part will fo loyal and dutiful a Parliament; yet no Parliame fat any more during this reign. The ministry on carry on their defigns without them.

Gray of Chryitoun.

In this month, James Gray of Chrystoun (p.132) vo tured home to see his family; but on a sabbath evening was feized by a party of dragoons, and carried in p foner to Glasgow, and after three or four weeks to E burgh, where he lay a long time in jail, without be called before any court. After a years imprisonme he was brought before the Council, who attacked in with their enfnaring questions; but because he own that the matter of the Covenant was lawful, and its of gation binding, and adhered to the principle of defence upon just ground, and refused to subject him to the present church establishment, he was sent back prison, where he lay more than two years. In the ye 1684 a fentence of banishment was pronounced again him; and in August 1685, he was, without the least p vious notice, hurried from prison, with about 140 mg and put aboard Captain Love's ship, and was to ported to Jamaica. They endured great hardships their paffage, by being crouded under the hatch without having provisions sufficient for their suppo nor any refreshment during the fickness, wherewith a few of them were seized. Many died of thirst. So offen

fered a crown for a draught of water, of which there 1682. as plenty; but were refused. After a three month's ffage, they were fold at Jamaica. Mr. Gray was old, ing then near fixty; and they who had the disposal him, refusing to part with him, but for a large fum, was imprisoned and fell sick. Being then apprehenve of his death, rather than lose all, they thought oper to release him, upon his paying 15 l. sterl. rvived his troubles, and died in his native country. On the 20th, One William Harvey weaver in Lanerk, Will.

as before the Justiciary, and indicted for being at the Harvey. te rebellion, and at the publishing of the declaration. le was brought in guilty, and ordered to be hanged at

anerk on the 3d of next month.

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On the 22d, the revd. Mr. Patrick Warner (after the Mr. P. volution Minister of Irwin) was apprehended in Edin-Warner rgh at the house of his mother-in-law Mrs. Guthrie, apprea party of the guards commanded by Captain Maitnd, joined with some of the town-company commandby Major Johnstoun. They violently broke open the pors, ransacked the house, pulled him out of his bed, d took with them upwards of 20 copies of Calderood's History, lately printed, and mostly at his own arges, with some hundreds of the second book of displine, and feveral other valuable books and manuripts; nay, they fearched his pockets, and took what oney they could find, together with his watch; but Capin Maitland was so kind as to oblige them to restore e watch to Mrs. Warner. Johnstoun and his men cared off her wearing apparel and linnen. The books d manuscripts were taken to the council-house; but ere never returned. He was immediately carried to e Abbey-guard, where he continued till next morning.

The same night Mr. William Living ston son to the Mr. W. vd. Mr. John Living ston Minister at Ancrum (vol. I. Living-37, 39, 40, 83, 147, &c.) was apprehended, with all freehended. s papers; but, after a month's imprisonment, was realed, upon finding bail to appear when called. But Mr. Warner met with severer treatment. He had Farther en licensed 1669, and was ordained at London, with a account of

w to be settled in the East-Indies. Accordingly, he ner. Aa2 arrived

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1682.

arrived there, and was about three years Minister at Form St. George upon the coast of Cormandel. He returned to Seotland about the year 1677, and preached in house and in the fields, as he had opportunity, till Bothwood Then he retired to Holland, where he continued till last year, when he came and married a daughter of the revenue. William Guthrie, of whom, see vol. I. p. 83 186, &c.

examined,

The day after he was apprehended, he was arried up the street to the Parliament-close, under a guar of a whole company of musqueteers, as if he had bee some notable malesactor, and brought before a Committee of the Council, where he was examined as to his preaching in the fields, the *Primate*'s death, the papers some about him, the second book of discipline. They had not thing to lay to his charge but nonconformity: He was several times before them, and though they were at gree pains to find a sufficient accusation, yet they laboure in vain. He continued in prison, without receiving a indictment, not for want of inclination, but matter.

his behaviour in prison.

During his imprisonment, he lectured and preache twice every Lord's Day to the prisoners; and some others, who, by the interest of friends or money, could be admitted. After sundry applications of his friend it was proposed, that he should give bond not to preach any more, unless he conformed, or remain perpetual in prison, or leave the kingdom and give bail not to a turn without permission, under the penalty of five the sand merks.

released,

He chose the last, and the Council on the 7the June 1682, ordered him to be released and depart the kingdom in fifteen days

kingdom in fifteen days.

the north
of Eng-

When that time was expired, he went to Bervit and continued for a little on the English fide of the Tweed, till he could get his family removed; then hired a small house near a village called Spittle, who he preached sometimes in his own and sometimes in neighbouring house. But his enemies in Scotland, being vexed that he went no surther, procured an order from the King and English-Council for apprehending him; that here began a new period of his sufferings. Manual than the began a new period of his sufferings.

Tarner, being apprehensive of danger, found it necessary to retire further into England, and at last took a puse in Newcastle, whither he brought his family.

By this time, Colonel Strutbers had repeated orders taken up seize him; and, accordingly, he was apprehended, there, a friend's house, and carried that night to a private puse five or six miles distant, and kept prisoner there. Iean while, some of them pretending to inform his ife and bring him linnen, &c. went and risled his puse, and took with them, what papers they could had. Next day, he and his papers were brought to Conel Strutbers, who was a Justice of Peace. Mr. Warres shewed him the act, by which he was released and unished from Scotland, and civilly asked him what he

rned into Scotland fince that time.

The Colonel being surprized, called for him next day, required to a dasked, if he was willing to take the oath of allegiance, take the lr. Warner desired time to consider of it. Upon this, oath of allegiance, was committed to Newcastle jail, his mittimus only earing, that he had resused to take the oath of allegiance. He continued here seven or eight weeks, till the ting of the Assizes. Being informed, that the said

th would be put to him, he refolved to take it, if he

ed to lay to his charge, fince he came to England, at the fame time, affured him, he had never re-

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und, that there was nothing of the supremacy in it.
When called before the Court, he humbly desired to his questainssified in a few things, which the judge permitting, tions conastked, 1. "Whether this oath did bind him to allecterning its giance to the King's successors de facto, as well as de jure?" The judge answered, it did not. 2. Wherethe oath binds him to be obedient to the King and ws, he desired to be satisfied, "whether, in case any of the laws should be such, as he could not, in conscience, give active obedience to, he was bound, by this oath, any surther than either to obey or suffer according to law?" The Judge declared he was bound

rhaps, might, in a little time, remove elsewhere, he fired to know, " whether he was, by the oath offered just now, bound to give the obedience for-

further. 3. Since he was a stranger in England, and,

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" merly mentioned, any longer than he was in England, feeing when he comes to live in another nation or Kingdom, it may be supposed he must be obtened in the laws thereof; and yet those, in seven things, may be different from those in England? The Judge told him his obedience was no longer due than while he continued in England. He took the oath upon these terms, and was released.

Remarks.

The reader cannot but observe, that though matter were very bad in England, at this time; yet tyranny and oppression were not arrived at that height, as they were by our prelatical managers, in Scotland; for here Mi Warner was allowed to propose his scruples, in oper court concerning the oath of allegiance; but in Scotlant a noble peer was condemned to die, only for offering an explanation of the self-contradictory test. Mr. Wanner's charges by his jail-fees, the loss of his books in papers, &c. were upwards of a hundred pounds stall 1687, when he returned to his native country, and was very useful in the church of Scotland, for many year after the revolution.

Other Jufferers.

From what Mr. Warner suffered, one may form judgment of the sufferings of many others in this period, of whom my author could give no account, such as Professor George Campbell of Edinburgh, Mr. Thomas Hog at Kiltairn in the shire of Ross, Mr. James Veith at Mauchlin, Mr. Alex. Pitcairn at Dron, Mr. James Kirktoun, after the revolution, Minister at Edinburgh, Mr. Alex. Hasty at Glasgow, Mr. Robt. Langlands first at the Barrony Church in Glasgow, and then at Elgin Murray, Mr. Will. Archbald, Mr. Job. Harroway, Mr. Patr. Cowpar and others, who were resugees in Holland This was also the case of several Noblemen and Gentle men, as the Earl of Loudon, Lord Strathnaver, after wards Earl of Sutherland, and Lord Stair.

Resufant Clergy.

On the 23d of February the Council, confidering the feveral of the Clergy, in the diocese of Aberdeen, has taken the test, passed an act, allowing them to return to their charges, and enjoy the prosits and emolument of the same, as Mr. John Menzies Professor of Divini

CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

the Marshal College, Mr. Pat. Simson and Mr. Will. lair Ministers of the said Burgh, Mr. James Garden rofessor of Divinity in Old Aberdeen, Mr. Geo. Andern in Mortlich, Mr. Joh. Barclay at Cruden, Mr. John orkbrien at Old-deer, and Mr. Pat. Innes at Bamf. Mr. ob. Irvine at Towie, and several other of the recusant lergy, getting the better of their scruples, were admitd to take the test.

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el (p. 31, 32.

On the 3d of March, William Harvey was executed W. Har-Lanerk. He had liberty to deliver his last words, vey exeough the drums were ready to beat. He declared cuted. mself a Presbyterian, and that, in his judgment, people ould obey the King in his lawful authority. He likeife declared, that he believed the Scripture, the Confion of Faith and Catechisms, adhered to the Coveints and all the faithful testimonies since 1660, and at he was for kingly government according to God's Vord. He died with much composure. as made a facrifice to the Lanerk declaration, yet it on't appear, that he had any concern in that, but only proclaiming the West-country declaration before Both-

A few days after this, the Council being informed of me Conventicles, gave proper orders for punishing e persons guilty, with the utmost severity of the

Mean while the Duke of York, having fignified his The Duke tention of going to England to meet the King at New- went to England, arket, required Queensberry to follow him, in order to p. 523. before his Majesty the state of the treasury; and, 524. is Bishop Burnet, " at parting he recommended to e Council, to preserve the publick peace, to support e Church, and oblige all men to live regularly, in edience to the laws.

The Bishops made their court to him with so much al, that they wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canbury, to be communicated to the rest of the English shops, setting forth, in a very high strain, his affecin to the Church and his care of it: and lest this piece merit should have been stifled by Sancroft, they sent copy of it to the press, which was a greater reproach

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1682. to them than a service to the Duke, who could not despise such abject and indecent flattery." My auth says, Bishop Paterson went up with the Duke, and pubably carried the letter, which was as follows:

Bishops Letter.

May it please your Grace, Mar. 9th, 168 " His Royal Highness having passed from hence " Monday last, being called by the King to attend " Majesty at New-market, we should prove very defe " tive in duty and gratitude, if, upon this occasion, " should forget to acknowledge to your Grace, in " much this poor church and our order do owe to or princely care and goodness, that his Majesty and " worthy Bishops of England may from you received " just account thereof. Since his Royal Highness " coming to this kingdom, we find our case me " changed to the better, and our church and order " which, through the cunning and power of their a " versaries, were exposed to extreme hazard and or " tempt, fenfibly relieved and rescued; which, next " the watchful providence of God, that mercifully " perintends his church, we can afcribe to nothing " much, as to his Royal Highness's gracious oroning a vigilant protection of us. Upon all occasions, he gi " fresh instances of his eminent zeal against the m " unreasonable schism, which, by renting, threatenst " fubversion of our church and religion, and concer " himfelf, as a patron to us, in all our publick even personal interests; so that all men take not " of his fignal kindness to us, and observe, that " looks on the enemies of the church, as adversar " to the monarchy it felf; nor did we ever propose, " offer to his Royal Highness any rational expedien " which might conduce for the relief or fecurity of " church, which he did not readily embrace and " fectuate. The peace and tranquility of this Kin " dom is the effect of HIS prudent and steady cond " of affairs, and the humours of our wicked Fanaii " are much restrained from dangerous erruptions, up " their apprehensions of his vigilance and justice; they dread nothing so much, as to see bim upon

head of his Majesty's Councils and forces against 1682. them. We hope your Grace will make our dutiful acknowledgments to his Royal Highness, for all his princely favours to us, and give him the most fervent affurance of our fincere endeavours to serve him. and of our most fervent prayers for his temporal and eternal happiness, as the bound duty of us, may it please your Grace, your Grace's most humble," &c. his famous letter was subscribed by the Archbishops of . Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Edinburgh, unkeld, Galloway, Brechin and Dumblain, and was pubhed at London on the 28th of April. When the Duke s gone, the Councellors were ordered to stay at dinburgh till his return.

On the 21st Lord Living stone and the Marquis of that were impowered to act against Conventicles, and d foldiers to affift them, as was likewise the Earl of

inlithgow on the 30th.

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On the 27, Christian Fife, a poor illiterate woman, Christian is profecuted before the Justiciary for high treason, Fife exbeating one Mr. Ramsay in the Old-kirk of Edin-ecuted. rgh, and declaring that she thought the King not law-King, &c. She was fentenced to be hanged on the h of April, which was done accordingly.

On the 4th of April, Thomas Greg merchant in Car-T. Greg. k, travelling with his pack, was feized by Claverhouse; d, after his money and goods were taken from him, as carried first to Newtoun in Galloway and next to imfries, where he was imprisoned, and had been rved to death, had it not been for the charitable supplies good people. After eleven days imprisonment, witht any trial or fentence, he and fundry others were t aboard a ship at Leith, bound for Holland, and fted as recruits there.

On the 7th, Rob. Fleming of Auchinfin, Hugh Mackle- R. Flemraith of Auchinfloor, Major Joseph Learmont, and Ro-ing of "t M'Clellan of Barscob, who with several others had fon, &c. en forfeited in life and fortune (p. 131, 132, 162, &c.) ving been apprehended, were brought before the Justiry, and, without any further trial, ordered to be exeted at the Grass-market of Edinburgh on Wednesday the VOL. II. 12th

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1682. 12th instant; but all of them, it seems, through interest got off. Barscob made some compliances, and was

use to the managers afterwards.

On the 23d, the revd. Mr. Henry Erskine was an ry Erskine prehended, when at family-worship, by Meldrum with party of foldiers, and fent prisoner to Melross. No day his Nephew James Erskine of Shielfield became be for his appearance when called, in the fum of 500 merks. He was ordained Minister at Cornbil in the Non of England about 1649, and was ejected by the all uniformity. He afterwards returned to Scotland, who he preached fometimes in the fields, and frequently his own house, till September last year, when he was me dered incapable of preaching or praying, by a viole indisposition of body. Meldrum, on the 8th of Ma called for him and his bail, and having given up to bond, carried him prisoner to Jedburgh, where he was fecond time, released upon bail to appear at Edinburgh the 12th.

Change in the miniftry.

Mean while, the Duke of York arrived on the M and immediately told the Council, that it was his M jesty's pleasure, that the Lord President, afterward B of Aberdeen, be Chancellor, Queensberry Treasurer, a the Earl of Perth Justice-general. This last, who in after turned Papist, being now at the head of the minal court, the fufferers could expect no favour, a their reasons for continuing to disown the then author could not but be strengthened. His Royal Highness was shipwrecked on his return

The Duke Abipwrecked.

The Duke and feveral more were faved in the but but the Earl of Roxburgh, the Laird of Hopetoun, Joseph Douglas, the Lord Obrian, with the Duke's In ther-in-law Mr. Hyde, and feveral others, were loft. shop Burnet tells us, that, "as he was going back bring the Duchess, the Glocester Frigate that came him, struck on a bank of fand. The Duke got into boat, and took care of his dogs and some unknown fons, who were taken, from that earnest care of his, The long-boat went off with very few be Priests. her, though she might have carried above eight more than she did. One hundred and fifty persons thed; fome of them men of great quality. But the 1682. uke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was

id chiefly to Leg's charge."

On the 12th, the foresaid Mr. Erskine, notwithstand-Mr. Ersty his being seized with an ague, came to Edinburgh, kine. In was brought before a Committee of the Council, here, after some previous examination, the Advocate ked him, if he would bind himself to preach no more Conventicles. He answered, "My Lord, I have my commission from Christ, and though I were within an hour of my death, I durst not lay it down at any mortal man's soot." His affair was delayed till the xth of June.

Mean while, on the 15th of May, the Duke and Du-Duke reness of York set out for England, whither he could now turns to pair with ease, when the patrons of liberty were sup-England.

reffed, and the vilest men were exalted.

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On the 17th, one Robert Gray, an Englishman, and R. Gray insequently none of their subjects, having been appre-executed. ended about ten months before, upon what pretence not known, was before the justicairy. They had othing to lay to his charge when he was feized. ut sometime last month, he wrote a letter from prison, answer to one he had received from John Anderson, herein he approved of what had been done in casting f the tyrant; and called the oath, appointed by the st Parliament, the black test. He owned the letter, and e expressions in it, to be his opinion, and for this was ondemned to be hanged in the Grass-market of Edinburgh the 19th, which was executed accordingly. His stimony is in the Cloud of Witnesses. It begins thus, I having got my sentence from men, who are unjustly taking away my life, merely for adhering to my principles, and have no matter of fast to prove against me, &c."

When he was brought to the Council-house, and de-His behated to purge the city of blood, he told them, that viour. In the diagram of the description of the descripti

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1682. the multitude, faid, "Sirs, you are feeding your en upon me, but what fee ye upon me? furely you " not the wrath of God upon me. But if you would lo " up to the heavens, you might fee the wrath of an ang "God against yourselves. I am brought out

" another nation, to own that COVENANT, which " have broken. Glory, Glory, Glory be to

" name, that ever he gave me a life to lay down h in witnessing against his enemies, and the wrong

"done to my Lord and Master Jesus Christ .-- ] "for you, who are the remnant of the Lord's people " to one hand or another; and I will affure you, it

" Lord will prepare a Zoar for you. Cleave to me " and to one another, and as fure as God lives, ye have

" fee yet glorious days in Scotland; for I die in the fair vas

"but wo, wo, wo, will be to those who are enemi

" and strangers to him." After he had prayed a little ap

within himself, he was turned over.

General Dalziel.

189.

The day after this execution, the Council, in conf quence of what the Duke of York recommended to the at his departure, gave instructions to General Dalziell march with some soldiers to the shires of Lanerka Air, and to fend the Laird of Meldrum, and what of cers he should judge proper, to the shires of Roxburg Selkirk and Berwick.

His in-Aructions.

The General's instructions were very extensive. was, among other things, to hear and confider wh propofals Duke Hamilton and the other Commission of the shire would make, for securing the peace of its the future,—— to call for a lift of fuch rebels, as h not yet submitted, to hear what submission any of the would make, to think upon proper methods for app hending any of them, or of any vagrant preachers, a for making persons both innocent and guilty keep the Parish-churches, &c. The General and those comm fioned by him obeyed these instructions.

A riot in Dron.

On the 29th, the Council having information of riot in the parish of Dron, upon Mr. Drummond, order a company of foot under Captain Maitland to quan

n the parish, and to receive orders from the Marquis of 1682. Albole, and apprehend those concerned in it, especially Mr. Alex. Pitcairn and his Beadle, who were reputed to ave promoted it. Some prisoners were upon this afad thanks for his diligence.
On the 6th of erwards fent into Edinburgh, and the Marquis of Athole

On the 6th of June Mr. Henry Erskine was indicted Mr. Erefore the Council for preaching at Conventicles, difor-skine and lerly marriages and baptisms. He denied the whole, gow fined, and pleaded his indisposition since 1681. But because to would not swear against himself, he was sentenced to any 5000 merks sine, to go that night to the prison at the suburgh, and next day to the Bass, till the sine was nd pleaded his indisposition since 1681. But because &c. Edinburgh, and next day to the Bass, till the fine was aid. Mr. John Linlithgow of Redpath was prosecuted with him, and received the fame fentence. But what vas the confequence with respect to him, my author oes not know.

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Mr. Erskine, through the interest of some friends, esaped going to the Bass, and was allowed to depart out f the kingdom. He retired to the North of England, there he lived fomewhat at ease for two years and a alf. Then he was apprehended, and was for some me a prisoner. After he was released, he continued reaching every Lord's Day at Monnilaus till 1687, then he returned to Scotland, and kept a meeting-house Il the revolution, when he was called to be minister at Shurnside, where he died 1696.

On the 8th of June, the Council gave a commission Com-Andrew Atchison writer in Edinburgh, under the di-mission to ection of the Lord Montgomerie, Sir Archbald Stuart A. Atchif Blackball, &c. to proceed against persons guilty of hurch disorders in the shire of Renfrew, and for aprehending rebels, vagrant preachers, or the harbourers f them, &c. The officers of the army were comhanded to affift in profecuting the ends of this comhistion.

Next day the following Ministers were outlawed, Ministers iz. Masters James Rymer, Rob. Gillespie, Tho. Arnot, outlawed. obn Harroway, John Fergusson, John Gillespie and John Aoncrief.

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Mr. T. Archerre-

leafed.

The same day Mr. Thomas Archer, who had, sing July last year, been in prison for nonconformity, was released. While in the Canongate jail, he is said to have made himself master of the Hebrew, Chaldaick, Syriack, and some other oriental languages. He went over to Holland, and improved himself in all the valuable branches of literature, and was there ordained by Mr. Fleming and other Scots presbyterian Ministers then a Rotterdam. We shall hear more of him afterwards, when he came over with Argyle.

Commiffion to Duke Hamilton, &c. The Council, on this 9th of June, authorized Duke Hamilton and others, to grant safe conduct to such of the reputed rebels, as petitioned for it, under a becoming sense of their rebellion, and upon signifying their resolution to live regularly for the suture. This commission was to continue only till the third of August It was afterwards lengthened out till the 15th, and that to the 6th of September. Some petitions were presented and the petitioners allowed to come in before the Council. But sew, who were concerned in Bothwell, took the benefit of this; because the test was imposed on a who came before the Council.

Societies meet at Tala-lin. On the 15th, the focieties united for correspondent, had their general quarterly meeting at Tala-lin in the parish of Tweeds-muir in the shire of Peebles, and use all their utmost endeavours against the errors of Jama Russel and others, who had run into the extravagances of John Gib. The Curate of the parish acquainted the Council with this meeting, which gave rise to a mode virulent proclamation. Some of them, it seems, were in arms; but their number was small, not near mode what they were represented in the proclamation I shall just now give an extract of.

Robert Nairn.

Mean while, on the 7th of July, one Robert Naiming the parish of Bonbill, was brought under a series of trouble; the fine, which was laid upon him sometime last year, was now exacted. He was forced to quit be employment, leave his house and family, and dismit his servants. His house was frequently risled.

About this time John Bredin in the same parish, John Flockbart in the Hole of Kippen, and Thomas Thomson

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Eastercouchland, were, for mere nonconformity, harrassed 1682. by the oppressions of fines, quarterings, and the ike.

The Council, on the 8th of July, published a most se- Proclarere proclamation in the King's name, fetting forth, mation for hat of late, some traitors, runnagadoes and fugitives, had discoverssembled, about the number of 80, with forbidden called the reapons, and in an unlawful manner, near to Talla-lin Hue and n the shire of Peebles; and that the people of that coun-cry. ry had been so deficient in their duty, as not to give imely notice of fuch meetings, either to the Council or heriff of the shire; and therefore they commanded all he fubjects in town and country, throughout the kinglom, upon knowledge or information that any numer of men meet unlawfully in arms, or appear in comany in any place, or where any one or two of fuch, as re declared traitors or fugitives, shall repair, that they refently give intimation of it to the Chancellor, or uch of the Council as shall be at Edinburgh for the ime, or to any commander of the forces that shall be earest, and to the Sheriff of shire, Stewart of the tewartry, &c. where the faid meeting or persons appear, r are informed to be, and that within the space of ne bour at most, for every three miles distance, they re at the time from Edinburgh, or from the nearest commander of the forces, Sheriff or other Magistrates. Ipon this information, all Sheriffs, Magistrates, &c. tere required to affemble a sufficient number of the subcts, with whom they were to fearch for and appreend fuch persons, and pursue them, till they are appreended or expelled out of their jurisdictions, and, upon heir flight, to acquaint the Magistrates of the next hire, who are required to do the same, and so from hire to shire till they are expelled the kingdom. And thoever were refractory, when required, were to be teated as being art and part with them.

The proclamation, of which this is but a short ex-Remarks. act, speaks for itself, and sufficiently shews the spirit f the managers. The fociety-meetings were held with he utmost secrecy. The occasion and design of them e have already shewn; but now the proclamation for

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1682.

the bue and cry, as it was called, was published, who could not but expose the poor wanderers to the great oppressions and calamities. When the administration in such hands, we need not wonder, tho' things still growers and worse; for they next granted not only a council power, but also a justiciary power to some officers the army, and others of desperate fortunes and ill morals.

Commiffion to Major White, &c.

Accordingly, on the 3d of August, the Council, on fidering how remiss Magistrates were, in punishing the that kept Conventicles, withdrew from ordinances, & and in suffering those, in the late rebellion, to live quiet, &c. ordered a commission to be given to Man White and the Laird of Meldrum, to meet and con with Sheriffs, Bailies of regalities, and other Magistrate and call before them, when and where they shall the proper, all persons, whether in town or country, wh ther heritors, tenants, or others, guilty, or suspected be guilty of withdrawing from ordinances, &c. fincet indemnity 1679; to hold Courts, to pronounce fenten and order the fame to be executed upon the guilt And if the Magistrates should refuse to concur, the Commissioners had power to act by themselves, and call the Magistrates, in the shires under their junit tion, to account for their diligence against the performance guilty of the faid disorders. The Commissioners w also impowered to inform themselves of those who we in the late rebellion, and yet lived in their bounds, a enjoyed their rents and moveables, that they might an inventory of them to sequester them for his Majett use, and pursue and apprehend the rebels themselves, the harbourers of them, in order to their being brown to justice. They likewise ordered a justiciary power the faid Major White and Laird of Meldrum, with aut rity to call before them any of the late rebels, not ing heritors, to bring them to a trial, and pass tence upon them, as they shall be brought in innou or guilty.

Commis-

By this act 'tis very plain, that the executive por was taken out of the hands of inferior Magistrates, put into those of their own creatures. And the off of the army had now the power of life and death. In a

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quence of this act, divers kinds of commissions were 1682. anted, which I shall not here insert. Major White d Meldrum received their commissions in the terms of eact. Commissions of the same nature were, about the d of the year, granted to Crawford of Ardmillan, the arl of Linlithgow, John Skene of Hallyards, and Kenth Mackenzie of Suddie, which last was for the norern shires of Ross and Cromartie.

On the said 3d of August, Thomas Lauchlan, who was T. Lauche of those forfeited and ordered for execution when lan. prehended (p. 131) was before the Justiciary; and, on e 13th, was ordered to be hanged at the Grass-market Edinburgh on the 16th.

On the 29th of September, the Advocate was ordered Mr. Kenprofecute one Mr. Robert Kennedy for being in the nedy. bellion 1679 and for Field-conventicles, fince the indem-

ty; but the iffue is not known.

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On the 10th of October, the Earl of Middletoun was ade conjunct Secretary with the Earl of Murray; fo at, by the alterations which were made, many of the uke of York's creatures had the management of affairs it into their hands.

Some time in this month, James Robertson a merchant James Stonehouse in this month, fames Robertson a merchant James Stonehouse in the shire of Lanerk, who usually tra-Roberts elled with a pack, coming to Kilmarnock, went to see appresent acquaintance who was in prison there. While with m, without the least offence or provocation, his pack and goods were taken from him, and himself carried to Stonehouse in the shire of Lanerk, who usually tra- Robertson d goods were taken from him, and himself carried to e guard-house, where he was kept close prisoner for n or twelve days. During which, he was brought bere Major White, and, refusing to give his oath super quirendis, was most barbarously treated. The Mar pulled him by the nose, and wrung it till the blood ished out. A fit person this to be vested with justiary power! Then he was fent to prison; and when he d his fellow-prisoner offered to worship God, the aptain of the guard came with fury, pulled the bible ut of his hand, and fwore he would burn it, if they fered to be thus engaged. After a few weeks, he as carried to Edinburgh. At Linlithgow he was prefd to drink the King's health, and upon refusing, the VOL. II. foldiers

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his head and feet together, and leaving him all nig in that posture. Next day, he was carried to E burgh, with his feet tied under the horse's belly; and December next, was put to a violent death, as shall have related in its place.

Alex. fore the Justiciary.

On the 15th of November, Alexander Hume, Portion Hume be- of Hume, was indicted, before the Lords of Justician for rifing in rebellion against the King, marching upa down in arms, rendezvousing with the rebels in Beat edge, &c. But as there was no proof against him, the Lords dropt the process. Nevertheless, because could not take the test, he was kept in prison, till 20th of December, when he was again indicted by advocate.

Lady Caand imprisoned.

Mean while, on the 16th, Dame Katharine M vers fined Lady Cavers, appeared before the Council for being m fent at Conventicles fince 1679, and for having her Masters Cargill, Arnot and Semple declared traitors, a Mr. Tho. Douglass, Mr. Arch. Riddel and Mr. Jan Ofburn. They had no proof; but because she would not swear against her self, they fined her in 500l. # and fent her to prison till she paid it, and found bail be present at no Conventicles. She continued a prison in Stirling Castle, till the end of the year 1684.

J. Robertion, &c. fon indicted.

On the 11th of December, the said James Roberts together with William Cochran in Carnduff and John In lay in the parish of Kilmarnock, were indicted before Justiciary for high treason. Their indictment was found ed on the answers they gave at their previous examin tion; for no matters of fact were laid to their charge

I. Robert-Ion examined.

The examination of James Robertson before a Con mittee of the Council, was as follows: 2. Is t King your lawful prince, yea or not? A. Since ye ma your questions matters of life and death, ye ought give time to deliberate upon them; but feeing I amp to it, I answer, As be is a terror to evil doers, and praise to them that do well, he is, or he is not. 2. We Pentland and Bothwell acts of traitory? A. They beit in their own defence and the defence of the Gospel, they we not acts of traitory or rebellion, felf-defence being alm lawfu

wful, which I prove from the Confession of Faith, in 1682. at article whereon you ground yourselves, which is, at subjects may resist unjust violence and tyranny. Wherein lies his tyranny? A. If robbing the priviges of the church be not an act of tyranny, I refer to judged. Q. Is the King a tyrant? A. I refer to his oligation in the coronation oath, and his present actings d practices, in robbing the privileges of the gospel, ith the usurpation of the church's liberties and the erogatives royal of Jesus Christ, the anointed of the ather, in making himself supreme; and I refer it to rsons at home, and nations abroad. Q. Was you at othwell-bridge? A. Ye count it an act of traitory and so rebellion; bear witness of it, and so make it evient. Q. Purge your felf by oath, so we offer to set bu at liberty. A. I will fay no more of it, for when told the truth to fome of you, it was not believed. One them faid, Q. Now I'll try, if you are a man of parts: ere was an Act of Parliament, when the Confession of aith was made, declaring the King was supreme, and was owned by the Presbyterians at that time. A. How ould that be owned, feeing the Confession itself was wned? shew me the act; but it was not produced. Was the Bishop's death murther? A. When I am judge set on the bench, I shall pass sentence thereon. Q. Own you the Lanerk and Sangubar declaraons? A. I cannot own any thing, till I fee and confirit. Q. Do you keep your Parish-kirk? A. If the initer has aught to challenge me with, let him do it. Now as a test of your loyalty, will you fay, God ve the King? A. Prayer ought to be gone about th composure and deliberation, and I am not in a mposure for it. Q. Would you not seek a blessing, if meat? A. If you were present, you would see. Then e of them faid, These principles will condemn you. e answered, If I be absolved of God, it is the less atter, though men condemn me. The examination of illiam Cochran and John Finlay, and their answers, were uch to the same purpose. All the three owned their fwers before the Criminal-Court, and though no other oof was against them, they were condemned to be

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1682. hanged at the Grass-market on Friday the 15th of D ~ cember.

beat by the the guard.

When James Robertson offered to speak on the fe Major of, fold, he was interrupted by the drums; and complain ing of this, Johnstoun the Town Major beat him with his cane. This unprecedented cruelty to a dying man together with the patience and chearfulness of the man tyr, convinced some of the spectators of the vileness prelacy and persecution. And several told my author that they dated their first serious impressions at the ex cution of these martyrs of Jesus.

fons against Saying Cloud of Witnesses, p.

In his last testimony, he speaks thus concerning his declining to fay God fave the King, "The refusing to far " God fave the King, which we find was the order, the God fave " was used in and among the Children of Israel, att the King. "King's anointing to that office, and used in our on

" nation at the coronation. Now this being only due " a lawful King, ought not to be given but to a law

" ful King, and so not to him being a degenerate w " rant; for if I should, I thereby had said Amen to a

" that he hath done against the church and liberia " thereof, and to all his oppression by unlawful exaction

" and raising of armies; for no other effect, but to do " prive us of hearing the Gospel, and troubling an

" molesting the subjects, both in their consciences an

" external liberties, and also to their bloodshed and mur

" ders upon the people of God, and free subjects of the " Kingdom, and to bid him God-speed, contrary to

" 2 Epist. of John ver. 10. And seeing it cannot be

" given to any, that have thus used their power to " wrong end, and fo much lefs, when they have fet his

" up as an Idol in the room of God-incarnate. An

" shall I pray to bless that man, in his person and go " vernment, which God hath curfed; for it cannot to

" expected, but that he shall be cursed that thus ver

" tereth on the boffes of the buckler of God Almighty." William Cochran, in his last testimony upon the same point, has these words, "Now the main article of m

" indictment, upon which I have received my fentent " of death from men, was, that I would not fay, 60

" fave the King, which (as they have now stated him

an Idol in the mediator's room) I could not do, without being guilty of faying Amen to all that he hath done against the church and people of God, and true fubjects of the kingdom, and the ancient and fundamental laws thereof; and have done contrary to 2 Epist. John, ver. 10 .- And also ye know, that the taking the name of God in our mouths is a part of worship, and so a worshipping of their idol; for, before our faces, they faid, that he was King over all persons, and over all causes, which is a putting him in God's room."

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Now the prelatical pamphleteers mightily extol the Remarks. emency of this period, in being willing to pardon criinals, if they would only fay, God fave the King, and claim against the obstinacy of those, who would not omply with fuch easy terms; but I have laid before the ader their own reasons, in their own words, and he is judge, whether it was not conscience, rather than obinacy, that kept them from yielding to this. If they omplied, they must either be serious in speaking the ords, or not. If they were not, they knew it was a king God's name in vain; and if they were ferious, en they judged, that, thereby, they approved of all at was done. But not to detain the reader farther on is point; these three godly men were executed acording to their fentence.

On the faid 1 1th of December, - Hay of Arrio- Galloway nd, Alex. Hunter of Colqubassen, And. Martin of Little Gentlemen llies, Jam. Welsh of Little Cloudon, M'Culloch of Bar- prosecuted. olm, Gordon second son of the deceased Laird of Holm, lasters Samuel Arnot, and Thomas Warner Ministers, laliday of Mayfield, Will. Thomson younger of Monaig, Kennedy younger of Knocknallonie, Alex. M' Naught ounger of Overtoun, Tho. Crichtoun of Hole of Balbassie, John Brown smith and heritor of Newtoun, were, absence, declared rebels, and outlawed, and their oods and chattles forfeited. But this fentence was lought too mild, for the managers wanted to finger heir estates; and therefore on the 18th, all the aboveentioned Gentlemen, except Moneraig and Knocknalnie, together with William Grierson of Kolchquber were

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1682. ordered, upon their being apprehended, to be execute as traitors, when and where the Lords should appoin But it don't appear that any of them were executed Alex. M'Kie of Drumbuy and Ant. M'Kie of Glencon being then prisoners, were sentenced to be executed the Cross of Edinburgh, the first Wednesday of July new but it feems Providence interposed in their behalf.

Mr.Hume indicted,

But the foresaid Alex. Hume became a sacrifice to m latical rage; for though nothing worthy of death bonds was found against him, yet he was a second tim indicted, before the Lords of Justiciary, on the 201 of December; but none of the facts mentioned in the indictment were proved. Though the witnesses did m agree, and the whole of the evidence was lame, yeth was brought in guilty of high treason, and condemna

sondemned, to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, on Friday to 29th. The day was hastened, to prevent any applic tion to be made to the King in his behalf. And the his friends, fearing what would come, made intent fo that a pardon came down, some days before the cution, yet the Earl of Perth kept it up. Mrs. Him begged the Lacly Perth, the morning of her husband execution, to interceed for his life, on account of h five small children; but her Ladyship, throwing of the tenderness of her sex, answered her in language which my author did not chuse to insert. I shall on observe, that the reader may here see, that not on those who renounced the King's authority, but even those that had not as yet clearness to take that step, became prey to the perfecutors, when they had a mind to va their rage.

Extract of his last quords.

Mr. Hume's last words, on the scaffold, expressed spirit of Christianity, as much as any of the martys and, among other things, faid, "I am com

" here to lay down my life, and I bless the La

"I am not to lay it down, as an evil-doer; for tho " be a finful man, as others are by nature, yet the

" his Grace, I hope I am planted in Christ Jesus.

"The world represents me as seditious and disloya

but God is my witness, and my own conscience, my innocency in this matter. I am loyal, and d

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ever judge obedience unto lawful authority, my duty, 1682. and the duty of all Christians .- But all a Christian doth must be with faith; for what clasheth with the command of God, cannot be our duty; and I pray the Lord may help the King to do his duty to the people, and the people to do their duty to the King." He declared his adherence to the Covenants d works of reformation, his fears of judgments coming the land, his own affurance of his future happiness, rgave all his enemies, and all who had a hand in his ath, took his farewel of all creature enjoyments, mmitting his wife and children to the care and protion of heaven, and his own spirit into the hands of fus; and just before he was turned off, concluded his e, by finging Pfal. xvii. last verse. His wife and chilen endured many hardships after this, but God suprted them under, and brought them out of their bubles at the happy revolution.

The various commissions, of which we have spoken, Effects of d other things, together with the malicious activity the comthe Curates, were the occasion of the most unac-missions, untable oppressions in almost all parts of the country; somuch, that were all the particular instances to be entioned, they would fill a volume by themselves. diers were fent to the different shires, where the Comissioners were to act, and committed unheard of cruies with impunity. Several had commissions, as the aird of Lagg and others, besides those mentioned above, d all were executed with rigour. I cannot, however,

t give the reader a few instances of many.

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In the parish of Twinam, several countrywomen, with in particking-children at their breafts, were imprisoned by cular inavid Graham, because they would not oblige them-frances. ves to keep their Parish-church, and hear the incumnt. In the parish of Tunnergarth, husbands were forced, her to oblige themselves to bring their wives to church, not to harbour them: and fuch was the piety of the rate of that parish, that if any presumed to meet tother for prayer, he threatned to inform against them a Conventicle: and having notice of some of the peris concerned in this dreadful irregularity, he fent fol-

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1682. diers to their houses. But it is a certain truth, the or thodox Clergy had no small share in the persecution in al parts of the country. In the parish of St. Mungo Annandale, because a boy of 16 years of age did not ap pear at one of these military courts, Cornet Graham sen a party of foldiers to quarter on his father, who ken the church regularly; but the Curate faid in that inta mous court, that it was but fit, the father should be punished for the child, whom he ought to have made regular by a bridle. And many parents were thus served while the PAPISTS were wholly overlooked, though Mass was openly said; but these were the good friend of the Royal Brother and his creatures!

Oppression. in Galloway,

The same course was taken in Galloway, where multitudes of Nonconformists were attacked by Claverboule though none of them were ever concerned in any rifing In the parish of New Glenluce he seized John Archball Ant. M'Bride, John Macleanochan and John Wallace, for not hearing the incumbent. They were not only kep above twelve weeks in prison, but also soldiers were fen to their houses to quarter in their families and eat upa their living. Then Claverhouse ordered them to be tid two and two, and fet upon bare backed horses, and be carried to Edinburgh; but when they were gone a day' journey, he fent a fervant after them, and obliged them to purchase their liberty, by giving each a bond so 1000 merks. This same year, James Harris of Arame noch and his fon John were imprisoned at Dumfries by Captain Strachan, for not hearing the incumbent, and kept there till they paid 1861. Scots, besides thirty shi lings sterl. to the Jaylors.

in the shire of Air,

Major White and Ardmillan dreadfully harraffed th shire of Air. John Boyd schoolmaster in Cowend, to not hearing the incumbent, was forced to pay 40. Scots to Ardmillan, had his house pillaged, and himse fent to prison at Edinburgh. The Major went throug almost all the parishes in this shire, held Courts, fine the Nonconformists, and imprisoned not a few. Th incumbents were the principal informers. He general forced all, wherever he came, to oblige themselves wives, children, and fervants, to keep the church, abando

bandon Conventicles, &c. under the penalty of a hun- 1682. red merks; fo that great fums of money were, by this seans extorted from the poor country. In the parish Dalmellingtoun, the following persons were fined at one f his Courts, Roger Dun 100 merks, and 30 l. to .. drumfuy, because the fine was so small: John Edgar o merks, Robert Dun 100 merks, and to Drumsuy as ove, Pet. M-Wbitter 100 merks, and afterwards 100%. r his wife's irregularity, Dav. M'Gill and John Wright. .. o merks each, John Dun 100 merks, Ronald Rob ... and John Bizzard 25 merks each, and four days imprinment. John Cunningham not appearing, his family as dispersed, Ant. Bizzard 100 l. And if so much as exacted in such a small parish, for hearing one seron out of it, what must have been levied in other places? the parishes of Auchinleck and Cumnock, the Earl of umfries charged all persons to appear before him, and ned all in 50 l. Scots, who had not their children bapzed by the incumbent. One Andrew Pathen was forced pay the fine, because he kept his child fix weeks. ough afterwards he carried it to the Incumbent; but. omit other instances of this kind.

The oppressions of the shire of Lanerk were inferior in the none. The Provost of Linlithgow was exceeding se-shire of re. For instance, he sent his officers to a widow's, Lanerk. order to apprehend her fon for not hearing the Cute. The youth got out of their hands, and his fifter as fined in 30 l. on pretence of being accessary to his ape, and imprisoned. The mother fell sick, but was t permitted to have her daughter to wait on her, ough bail was offered. After a few days, the Provost me in the night time, fearched the house for her n, and not finding him, obliged the poor woman to y him 20 merks. I have often observed, that the rgy were the great instigators of these and such like lelties. In their visiting families, they generally took lote of those who kept not the church, and from the ls of the Incumbents were formed the rolls of Delinents at these courts. My author gives a well-attested count of Mr. Blair the profligate incumbent at Ruthern. This wretch visiting his families, challenged a Vol. II.

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1682. poor woman for not keeping the church. She began to give her reasons; and, among others, mentioned the obli gation of the Covenants. Upon which, the ghoftly father decently called her a Covenanted Whore; though at the time, he was himself living in whoredom with one his own fervants, which was afterwards discovered. I the parish of Kilbride, Captain Inglis harrassed many fa milies, and particularly feized And. Mack, John Can, duff and Th. Miller, and, upon refuling to give the oath super inquirendis, ordered firey-matches to be pu between their fingers, which put them to exquisite to The power of torture was now affumed by the commander of a party! That same captain went to widow's house, to apprehend her son, and not finding him, he called the neighbours, and made them all fwe with the family in this form: By the Eternal God, a as I am content to lose my part in beaven, I know not when John Mack is. Thus the foldiers took upon them the power of imposing oaths, as well as of inflicting to tures! These were some of the peculiarities of the blessed reign. John Skene Laird of Hallyards made to rible havock in the parish of East-monkland, to the unt ruin of many families, for mere nonconformity. Meldru fucceeded him, and Inglish came after Meldrum; and in one house, his party found a boy not 15 years of age, and, because he would not swear where his maste was, they wounded him with their fwords, dragged him by the hair to the fire, held his face before it, till his eyes were ready to start out of his head. And who they thought they had left him for dead, they went of However, he recovered, though he was distracted to fome time.

J. Archer's fufjerings. It would be endless to account for all the particular John Archer (p. 26) in Stramiglo in Fife, having bee forced to leave his house, two of his children were seized with a fever, but were obliged to be removed a retired house, where the other three fell sick, and where this worthy person endured further persecution, a shall be observed in the next chapter. In the town of Innerkeithing, And. Adamson surgeon endured peculia hardships through the instigation of Mr. Irwine the lacumber

umbent, as did likewise Tho. Thomson a ship-master and is son, Will. Brown baker, Rob. Stewart ship-master, who was long in jail at Edinburgh with Mr. Forrest of shree-acres near Stirling. These, with many others, were obliged to remove with their samilies, because of heir nonconformity.

Though there were but few Presbyterians in the North. et these did not escape. Mr. Pitcairn minister at Dron, vas forced to leave his charge, and retire to Holland; nd one Laurence Gibson in the neighbouring parish of Arngask, was put into prison at Perth, and from thence arried to Edinburgh, and then fent as a recruit to one f the Scots regiments in the service of the States, where e continued, till his father-in-law bought his discharge. David Peter, James Proctor, and Tho. Clepan, were aprehended by the Sheriff of Forfar, fined and imprisoned or their nonconformity; as was Mrs. Minniman a presbyrian Minister's widow, by the Magistrates of Perth, shile her only fon was dangerously ill. The child died rying after his mother, and the mother died of grief or her child. Thus the reader may judge what a case he poor country was in, and how pleased the Papists bust have been to behold Protestants in this manner ersecuting their brethren. I shall conclude this chaper by observing.

That some time last summer, Duke Lauderdale died. Lauderlishop Burnet says, "his heart seemed quite spent. There derdale
was not lest the bigness of a walnut of sirm substance.
The rest was spungy, liker the lungs than the heart."
And elsewhere he tells us, "that he was very learned,
sot only in Latin, in which he was a master; but in
sreek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of diviity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern:
the had an extraordinary memory, a copious but unposhed expression:" but I shall leave the reader to form
the rest of his character from the some part of this

istory, and go on to

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## CHAP. IX.

Of the Commissions; the profecutions before the Justiciary the Rye-house-plot; the Circuit Courts; the public executions, and other branches of the persecution during the year 1683.

dismal scene, than any that has gone before; he as the great design of the Church of Rome has always been to root out the northern beresy, so our prelated managers exerted themselves, to the utmost, to root out the Presbyterians.

Hallyard's commiffion. The commissions granted last year, were now a larged; for on the 4th of January, John Skene of Hall yards was appointed to receive the rents of the forest heritors in the shires of Lanerk, Stirling, and Linlithm and impowered to call before him, and examine, up oath, whom he thought could inform him of those or accessary to, the rebellion 1679, and, upon sinding any sufficient evidence to secure their goods and chatte till a merchant could be found to purchase them; and any whom he called before him did resuse to swear, was to confine them in the next prison. Who could safe, when such powers as these were given to wicks men, who would stick at nothing?

Mr. Potter.

The same day, the revd. Mr. Mic. Potter was beforeth Council, and upon his owning to have kept House-conveticles, and refusing to engage not to preach the Gospe was committed to the Bass, where he continued my years. Then he was permitted to leave the country However, Argyle landing about that time, he kept him self concealed till 1687. Mr. Potter was privately censed and ordained 1673. After which, by the infigation of the Bishop of Dumblain, he was hunted as partridge on the mountains, preaching where he coultill 1677, when he went to Holland for some months. Upon his return, he was forced to keep out of the was

at at last was apprehended about the end of the last 1683.

ar, and now was fent to the Bass.

The same 4th of January, John Row chamberlain to I. Row-Will. Primrose of Carring, being informed against r Conventicles, was outlawed, and the General was orred to fend parties in quest of him, and if they could ot find him, to secure his goods for the King's use.

The profecutions before the Justiciary, were now very Witnesses merous; and the better to answer the designs of the to be exefecutors, a letter was procured from the King, and read aximined fore the Lords on the 8th of January, ordering them before examine witnesses upon oath previous to the trial. ur how far it becomes Judges to take the oaths of imesses before trial, I must leave to be determined others. As it requires one skilled in the laws of colland to make proper remarks on this, I shall there-

re leave it.

The fame day, Tho. Cunningham of Montgrenan was Th. Cundicted before them for treason and rebellion. His con-ningham fion, that he and others joined the rebels at Bothwel, of Montas the proof. However, he begged the Lords might grenan. tercede for his pardon, and declared, that he was wilng to take the test. He was brought in guilty; but he sentence was not pronounced till the 15th, when he as condemned to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh the first Wednesday of April; but it seems he was

ardoned.

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On the faid 8th of January, William Martin of Dul- W. Marrg junior, was indicted for treason and rebellion; but tin of pon renouncing his heritage, the process was dropt, id he was made to oblige himself to appear when sumoned. W. M. Clelland of Auchinguil, H. Maxwell of ail, and W. M'Culloch of Glichred, came off the same ay. The last took the bond of peace and the test, and

as released.

There was scarce any thing, under this administration, Haftanas ore unaccountable, though it was very common, than accountprosecute busbands for the nonconformity of their wives, while for nd fathers for conversing with their own children. wives, &c. he Magistrates of Edinburgh, having this case frenently before them, proposed some queries concerning

1683. it to the Council. A Committee was appointed

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the 11th of January, who gave it as their opinion 1. That wives ought to be fined in the half of the husband's fines, and that the husbands were to ha \* defalcations off the wife's jointure. 2. That regula husbands, on producing their wives to the Magistrate were not further answerable. 3. That widows were be fined in the half of their late husband's fines. 4. The unmarried women were to be fined, according to condition of their deceased parents, and their own con dition as to their fortunes. 5. That parents were a fwerable for their childrens keeping the church, who they were seven years of age, and fit to be catechised. I fhort, all that regular husbands had to do, was to m duce their irregular wives to the Judge Ordinary, who if they should prove contumacious, was to lay the ma

A.Herron.

ter before the Council.

The same day, the case of Andrew Herron of Kerol tree, was before the Council, for conversing with his on fon and his fon-in-law, who had been at Bothwel, and ing ashamed to take his life, they procured a letter from the King to impower them to fine him, as they ha proper. Accordingly, though he was pardoned as t his life and estate, yet he was afterwards fined in 500 merks, which he actually paid.

Sir John Harper.

On the 27th, Sir John Harper Sheriff-depute of L nerk, was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh on su picion of treason, that is, corresponding with some This Gentleman was abundant the perfecuted party. regular, as they called it; but he was not fo violent profecuting the fufferers, as some would have had him he lay fome months in prison, and at last was release upon giving a bond of ten thousand pounds sterling appear when called.

Culness, Er.

On the 31st, the sureties of Sir Tho. Stuart of Ca ness (p. 45) Hamilton of Monkland, of both afterward Mr. John Osburn and Mr. Hugh Crawford, were lun moned to present these persons according to their bon Mr. Osburn, a few days after this, appeared before Council, and owning he had preached in houses, had

his choice either to depart the kingdom, or oblige 1683. mself not to keep Conventicles, under the pain of 5000 erks. He chose the last.

About this time, the revd. Mr. John M'Gilligen (p. Mr. J.Macand vol. I. p. 398) appeared before the Council, and Gilligen ing charged with Conventicles, irregular marriages and fent to the ptisms, and refusing to swear against himself, was Bass. ned in 5000 merks, and fent to the Bass, till he should y it, or oblige himself to depart the kingdom, never return without his Majesty's licence. However sere this fentence was, yet some, who were absent at at time, thought it too mild, and attempted to have sentence, of another nature, passed against him; but their attempts proved fruitless.

He continued in the Bass till the year 1686, and, as His profppears from his diary, had much of the Divine Pre- pest of the nce with him, and a believing prospect of the nation's nations deeliverance from the hands of its present oppressors. liverance. hough to scoffers it may appear ridiculous, yet to the ous reader, what he fays on the 23d of September

684, will, I am perfuaded, be agreeable.

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"This day I got my heart poured out before the Lord, for the diffress, destruction and desolation of the land, and the ruin and overthrow of his interest. The Lord will have mercy and heal, recover his own glory, reform his church, restore his ordinances, purge his fervants, and cause facrifices to be offered in righteousness to himself.—— He will strike with his right hand, and with it bring back the ark and the glory, and cause the days of joy and gladness to to be according to the days of forrow and fadness we have feen."

By the way, I cannot but observe, that we, in this Remarks. neration, may look upon all the privileges, both reious and civil, that have flowed from the happy revotion, to be, in a great measure, owing to the prayers the distressed sufferers in this dismal period. Happy d it been for the nation, had they been better imoved, and happy would it still be, did we but mourn er our great defections, and labour after that refor-

mation.

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Vot. 1683. mation, which our worthies contended for, and feel with their blood!

While Mr. M'Gilligen was thus employed, fumme of adjudication was raised against the small estate he la in the shire of Ross. But the Lords, by the interest the Laird of Tarbet, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, m a stop to the fine. At last, he was released, and ve tured home, to the inexpressible joy of his old hearen At the revolution, he, with the consent of his people went to Inverness, where, after preaching a short while he died in the Lord, June 8, 1689. My author an he was the only Minister in the province of Ross, who at the first assault, opposed prelacy. He was of gra fervice to many Ministers, as to Mr. Hog of Kintain Mr. Ross at Kincardin, and Mr. Anderson at Cromann It was at his house, that the worthy Mr. Angus M. Bian formerly episcopal Minister at Inverness, preached his n cantation fermon from Job xxxiv. 31, 32. There was on Mr. Eneas M'Bain, who died in prison about the time King WILLIAM landed in England, an account of whom had been worth inferting, but I could not have the particulars, neither do I know whether this be the fame with Mr. Angus M'Bean, mentioned by my author But-to return.

Blackwood pro-Secuted.

On the faid 31st of January, a process commence before the Justiciary against Mr. William Lawry Blackwood. This Gentleman was apprehended last year and indicted for treason, because, as they alledged, h had allowed feveral of his tenants, who had been Bothwel, to return to their farms, and received ren from them; and therefore, fay they, he hath incurre the pain of treason, at least was art and part with them in the said crimes. He was farther indicted for com missionating, giving order or conniving at James Cal land and James Wilson, known rebels, to come, in the month of May or June 1679, to the house of Douglas and take away two cannon and feveral horses belonging to the Marquis of Douglas. It was pleaded in his be half, that the persons, named in the indictment, were tenants included in the indemnity, and that therefore the liege

ieges might receive them as tenants, though they had 1683. not taken the bond of peace, fince they were not interommuned. His lawyers urged further, that he could ot be profecuted for converse with rebels, unless the ersons, he is said to have conversed with, had been leally convicted of rebellion. It was likewife argued, hat he was no ways accessary to the taking the cannon rom Douglass Castle, nor conversed with the said Cleland and Wilson till the October following, when they vere openly at his father's funeral; that Wilson was a ommon and known drover, and therefore he dealt with im, as all the Country did. However on the 7th of con-February the Lords, notwithstanding all that could be demned. aid in his defence, and though nothing could be proved gainst him, condemned him to lose his head, at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on the last of February.

Bishop Burnet, who through mistake calls this Gentle- Remarks. nan by the name of Weir of Blackwood, after giving ome general account of this affair, fays, "This was p. 526. ich a constructive treason, that went upon so many nreasonable suppositions, that it shewed the shamelesses of a fort of men, who had been for forty years delaiming against a parliamentary attainder, for a contructive treason, in the case of the Earl of Strafford nd did now, in a common court of justice, condemn a nan upon a train of so many inferences, that it was not offible to make it look even like a constructive treason." de adds, that though the Marquis of Douglass wrote earestly to the Duke for his pardon, that was denied. lowever, he was reprieved from time to time, and so reprieved vas not executed. This, continues the historian, put I the Gentry in a great fright. Many knew they were s obnoxious as Blackwood, and none could have the omfort to know that he was safe.

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There were several other Gentlemen prosecuted be- 1. Menore the Justiciary, as John Menzies in Dalquharn, John zies, &c. ibson of Auchinchain, Rob. Fergusson of Letterpin, Will. Mculloch in Cleichred, and James Lawrie writer in Lark; but none of them were executed.

While the Justiciary were thus engaged, the Council Several as not idle; for on the 8th of Feb. they fined John Ha-fined VOL. II. milton

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1683. milton of Gilkerscleugh in 2000 merks, because his Lat had been at House-conventicles, and on the 12th, de prived Sir John Dalrymple of Stair of his bailery Glenluce, fined him in 500 l. sterl. and ordered him the Castle of Edinburgh, till he made payment. The reasons of this are not to be found.

1. Archer's farsher Sufferings.

The fufferings of John Archer (p. 202) were renewed this month. Before his children recovered, he was feine with a violent fit of the gravel. While in this cafe, party of Balcarras's troop came, apprehended him, an carried him, his wife and five small children, to Kirkal prison. Next day the provost released the mother a children, on finding bail to prefent herfelf to the Shen when called. After John had continued in jail the weeks, he was carried to Edinburgh, and was first be fore a Committee, and then before the Council. An though nothing but nonconformity could be laid to ! charge, he was fent to the Ironbouse in the prison Edinburgh, where he continued in irons 17 days. was thought, this fevere treatment was much owing his not giving Bishop Burnet of St. Andrews his titles. H remained in jail above 5 months, when he was release by the interest of a south-country Gentleman, who has a fingular regard for his brother Mr. Thomas (p. 190 After some respite, he was against persecuted, so the for a whole winter, he could not lie two nights in own house, but was obliged to make the best shift Sometimes in the night-time he would on home and work a little at his trade, being a tallo chandler, and retire out of the way in the day-time.

Major White's commillion extended.

On the 1st of March, Major White's Commill (p. 192, 193) was extended to the parishes of Eglish Merns, Carmunnock, and Kilbride, it being alledged, disorderly persons not only lived, but were likewise in tered in these places: but as the bounds of his on mission were now very large, he was impowered to se a deputy to the remote places, where he could not of veniently attend. The Major was abundantly fere but his deputies exceeded him: and by this means oppression became very general, there being but parishes, that had not either the Major or his deputie

At the same time Claverbouse, Meldrum, and Major 1683. Thite had instructions, to discover all in the late rebellion, ho were not in the porteous or fugitive rolls, and fend Instrucem prisoners to Edinburgh, in case they could have Clavervo witnesses to swear against them; to send the names house, &c. those heritors who had harboured or conversed with bels, that the Council might take a proper course with nem; to fine, to the utmost, petty heritors, who were kewise tenants; to send an account, to the Chancellor, f those indulged Ministers, who had transgressed their iles; to grant safe conduct, for 14 days, to those in he late rebellion, who should throw themselves on the ling's mercy; to fend the names of unlicensed Chapins, and of those who entertained them, to the Chanellor, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, or Bishop of idinburgh, that the fines imposed by law might be exsted; and, lastly, to call for the books and records of heriffs, Bailies of regalities within their bounds, and ramine what fines had been imposed, in case of church forders, that they might regulate them, as they should e cause. The like instructions were given to others; ut the particular effects of them are not known.

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On the 8th and 9th of March, Major White held Courts courts in the Church of Carmunnock, where many were held by alled before him. The country people were kept wait- White. g from one court-day to another, to their great detrinent, in this time of labour. Soldiers were fent to the ouses of those who did not appear. They who apeared, and would not swear they were at church, at alt, every third Sabbath, were fined as the Major hought proper. By the instigation of Mr. Boyd the urate, his predecessor the revd. Mr. Andrew Mortoun as fummoned, for alledged baptizing and preaching that parish, but not appearing, was fined in thirty housands merks; so that he was obliged to conceal imself, till the liberty 1687. From eight or nine poor ountry people in the parish, White exacted 277 pounds or absence from the church, or rather because they fould not swear, that they kept it in terms of law. it another court-day, 25 were fined for not hearing

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1683. the Curate, fome in fifty, and fome in twenty-five pound, and twelve women in fix dollars each.

Jasper Touch fined. White likewise executed his commission in other parts of his bounds, and particularly held courts at kill marnock, and exercised more severities than is necessary to be related. Jasper Touch, a young surgeon in the place, was fined in nineteen pounds sterl. because he would not swear, he had been at church every thind Sabbath; and refusing to sign the bond of regularity, he and several others were sent to prison. At last, he was released upon paying 27 rix-dollars; but frequently at ter this, he was harrassed for his nonconformity, being forced to abscond, and leave his shop and business to the care of an apprentice. In his absence he was severely fined by Colonel Buchan, who held one of the

Courts at Kilmarnock, had his fervant imprisoned, and a inventory taken of all his houshold furniture. The Colonel being called to Glasgow, Mr. Touch returned; by

when the Colonel came back, he was imprisoned, and with great difficulty, was released, upon giving few rity, under the penalty of a thousand merks, to appear before him or the Council, on six days notice. Meldra

was likewise very diligent in the execution of his commission. But enough has been said upon this.

Extracts from the records required. On the 12th of March, a letter from the King came to the Justiciary; and, much about the same time, and ther to the Council, requiring them to send extracts from the registers of the indictments, trials, proclamations, to together with copies of the several treasonable declarations, proclamations, bonds of combination in Sanqubar Lanerk, Rutherglen, &c. in order to their being digested and methodized by C. Hanses of Gray's-Inn, Esq.; London and published for the satisfaction of the King's goo subjects. But it don't appear, that this was completed.

My author justly observes, that had such a thing been done with any sincerity, it would have saved him a great deal of trouble; but that was not to be a pected.

Mr. John Philip. On the 15th, Mr. John Philip, late episcopal Ministre of Queensferry, having been turned out for refusing

hap. 9: CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

t, was before the Council, and charged with faying 1683. the Parliament-house, that the Duke of Albany and the Parliament-house, that the Duke of Albany and look was a bloody man, a tyrant, and distasteful to the bjects; that the King's Advocate and Bishop of Edings were bloody and cruel men; that the Earl of look was unjustly forfeited, &c. After witnesses were ought to prove these things, the Council fined him in look. Sterl. and ordered him to be kept prisoner in the last during life; signifying, at the same time, that if he do not pay his fine within 15 days, they would order d not pay his fine within 15 days, they would order d not pay his fine within 15 days, to live Advocate to pursue him, for his life tiary. The Cash-keeper was command by, to seize all his books and papers.

On the 22d, the Council being in a cash Caldwell and her daughter were e Advocate to pursue him, for his life, before the Jusiary. The Cash-keeper was commanded, next council-

On the 22d, the Council being informed, that the Lady ady Caldwell and her daughter were imprifoned for Caldwel's muenticles, ordered them to be fent to the Castle of Sufferings.

lackness. This excellent Widow Lady was Barbara, ughter to Sir William Cunningham of Cunningham-head ol. 1. p. 132, 182, 183, &c.) She had a dowry out the lands of Caldwell, suitable to her rank; but neefting to take infeftment before her husband's forture, she and her four children were cruelly turned it of her right, and obliged to support herself by her on and the industry of her virtuous children.

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About the beginning of this year, while she lived aceably in her apartment in Glasgow, one who lived er against her, went to Provost Barns, a violent pertutor, and told him, that, through the glass of her indow, he saw a minister preaching. Upon this false formation, she was imprisoned; and without any other oof, was fent to Blackness Castle, where she and her lest daughter remained closely confined for almost a year. hen by this close confinement Mrs. Jane's health was paired, she was with difficulty released, and, as a mighty your, her mother was allowed, now and then, the nefit of the air. But they would not fuffer her to see r second daughter Mrs. Ann, though she was seized th a fever, which proved her death. She continued Moner several years, unconvicted of any crime, and g th ver accused but by one witness. And though it had en true, that a Minister preached at that time in her apartment,

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that there were more than five present, besides the family. The law had not prohibited family-worship and though the Lawyers openly connived at popply masses in families, yet presatick fury vented itself, for the most part, only against Presbyterians. This Lady was not released till King James's liberty of conscience.

LadyKait-

At this time, the Lady Kaitloch suffered considerably; for a garison, that was sent to take possession of her house, most cruelly turned her and her small family to the fields; and it was esteemed a favour, that they allowed her to lodge, for some time, in a cold barn. At last, she and her children were forced to leave the kingdom, and died abroad.

Cruelty of the garifon. Some of the foldiers of this garifon found a poor mat at prayer in the fields, and brought him to the garifon, who kept him three days in the guard-house, where his pious soul was vexed at the dreadful profanation of God's name. At last, because he refused the test, he was turned out of his house, and forced to wander up and down for several years.

John Nifbet examined.

On the 22d of March, John Nishet younger (so called to distinguish him from John Nishet of Hardbill) who lived in the parish of Lowdon, was tried by Majo White, affisted by W. Creichtoun sheriff-depute of At who with others was vested with a justiciary powd When, upon his examination, he refused to inform against John Nisbet of Hardbill, the Major impious threatened to make him fit three hours in hell. 'Tism worth while to infert their jeering questions. As to the Archbishop's death, he said he was not a judge; the Bothwel was felf-defence; that he acknowledged non to be the head of the Church but Christ. Being alka if the King was King or not, he told them, he was one a covenanted King. And as to his being King now, referred it to his obligations in the coronation-oath be considered. Being then asked, if he was his King he refused to answer. This was all they had to lay his charge; and for this, he was condemned to be hange at Kilmarnock on the 14th of April, which was done a cordingly. He had a grave courage and stayedne When

hen he came to the place of execution. After he had 1683. rayed, he fung Pfal. xvi. from ver. 5, to the end, and Rom. viii. and prayed again. He was allowed to beak a confiderable time to the spectators, wherein he commended religion, and pressed them to godliness om his own experience. He told them, that this was he first execution in that place, and was likely not to e the last; that death was before them all,—but as or himself, the sting of it was taken away, and he eckoned every step of that ladder to be a step nearer eaven. He was interrupted, when beginning to give n account of the cause of his sufferings; upon which the drew the napkin over his face, and was turned over, ommiting his foul into his Father's hands. His last beech and testimony, the reader may find in the Cloud Witnesses; in which he says, among other things, As for ny not praying for the King in his person and authority, This I durst not do, it being a perfect owning of him in ll be bath done, &c.

On the 2d of April, a process of forseiture was Process of aised against John Balfour of Kinloch, John Russel por-forfeiture. ioner of Kettle, for killing the Archbishop, Robert Hanilton, brother to Sir William Hamilton of Prestoun, for commanding the West-country army at Bothwell, Mr. John Hog Minister at Rotterdam, Mr. Robert Fleming here, - Smith, Mr. Robert Langlands, And. and John Russels factors, and James Stuart son to Sir James fuart Provost of Edinburgh, for supplying the rebels with money and necessaries ever since, &c. Robert Hanilton and John Balfour were sentenced to be executed when apprehended. John Russel, Masters Hog, Langands, Smith, and James Stuart, were outlawed and foreited. The diet was deferted as to Mr. Fleming and Andrew Russel, the Council having sufficient testimonials

The same 2d of April, Sir Will. Denholm of West-Sir Will. bields, Mr. G. Cunningham, indulged Minister at Dunlop, holm, &c. or corresponding with Mr. John Cunningham of Bedlane, were outlawed, as was likewise Arch. Menzies younger of Culdairs, for faying one day in prison, that fools made the

est, and knaves take it.

of their loyalty.

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Though the commissions given to Major White, O 1683. verbouse and others, and the extensive powers vested the Commissioners, might have been thought suffice Circuit Courts.

for suppressing all whom they called Fanaticks, yet the must be more Circuit-courts clothed with all the power of the Council and Justiciary. Accordingly, on the 14

Proclamation for them.

of April, a proclamation was published, in consequent of a royal letter, which they received on the 10th fetting forth, among other things, that though his M jesty had been, too often, induced to grant indemnition

byterians.

+ here is root and branch work.

\* the Pres- indulgences and other favours, to that \* fanatick and di affected party, which only imboldens them to abuse royal goodness; yet it was and is now more than ever firm resolution, to + root out these seditious and rebello principles, and to maintain the church-government, it is established by law; therefore he required the Cou cil, and all Judges and Magistrates, to execute the law with rigour, against all who, fince the late indemnit had been, or afterwards should be, found guilty of natical disorders, and to prosecute, before the Justice all who are, or shall be, found guilty of receiving, ha bouring, or conversing with persons forfeited, traitors, but left any have unadvertently fallen into that miltal he recommends to the Council to command the Adm cate, to order fuch as they suspect, to be summoned by fore them, and to judge them, upon evidence or oath of parties, as they shall see fit; or in case they h refuse to swear, or appear, to repute them as guilt and to restrict the ordinary pains of treason to band ment, fining, or other arbitrary punishment, but to indemnified, if they appear and fatisfy the Council. I likewise gave the Council authority to commission whom they thought fit, in the respective shires, judging those, whom they had not time or convenient to call before themselves, and that in the same way, with the fame powers, that themselves were possessed And fince feveral of the common people, who were the late rebellion, have lost the benefit of the indemni by not taking the bond in due time, his Majesty declar that upon their taking the test, they shall be complete indemnified. And for punishing those that refuse to reclaime restern and southern shires, and other places needful, n the months of May, June, July, and August next, after exact porteous rolls of delinquents are taken and published. The Circuit-court of Stirling was to sit on the th of June, at Glasgow the 12th, at Air the 15th, at Dumsries the 26th, &c. Then the common people, in taking the test, were to do it on their knees, and to sign it y themselves or a notar, in presence of the persons menoned in the proclamation.

This is the substance of a long proclamation, in Remarks, which the King was made to signify his repentance for his ormer lenity, of which we have had all along inconsted proofs, in the former part of this history, and to eclare his resolution to extirpate all fanatick principles. would have been very acceptable to his beloved nother, had he undertook to extirpate the northern resy; however, this was a good preparative. The test as to be imposed upon all suspected persons, tho, by the of parliament, none but those in offices of power and trust were required to take it; but the Duke of both had foretold, that the test should fall upon others than

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To pave the way for these Circuit-courts, the Coun-Private, on the 18th of April, made an act, ordering the porteous rks of the criminal-court, not to insert in the ordirolls. The principals of the private of burghs, where the Circuit is to sit, &c. but that the clerk and his deputy shall be all information they can have against all persons nationates and in case any noblemen, &c. be informed ainst, that they keep a particular and private roll for the persons, which the clerks must keep secret at their ril, and send in these private rolls to the Council. The series of the council.

Next day they agreed upon instructions to the Comfioners of Justiciary at the Circuit-courts, and their rks in taking up of Dittays, or in procuring informans against persons to be fined at the said Courts, ich need not be inserted. But that the reader may be some view of the share the prelatical Clergy had in You. II.

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Vol. 1683. the informations given in at this time, a paper was di perfed among them, whether by the order of the B shops, or the Council, is not known.

Things to the Minifters.

The title of it was, List of things to be done by the M be done by nister in each parish, 1683. "They were to give in, upo oath, a lift of their Seffioners, their clerks and bellmen

- " of withdrawers from the church and noncommuni " cants to give an account of all disorders and n
- " bellions, and who were guilty and a comple " roll of all within the parish, and particular list of
- " the heritors. That all women, who are delinquent
- " be given up as well as men. That they give account " of all persons, who have gone out of their parish
- " and the reasons of it, of fugitives, their wives
- "widows and all refetters of them, and of cha " men and travellers. That they declare, who are the
- of people in their parishes, who can give the best a
- " count of all these particulars, that such may be brough

" in and examined."

Remarks.

This was fine employment for Ministers of the Go pel! But 'tis too well confirmed, that fuch work as the was more agreeable to these orthodox Clergy, than wh really belonged to their office. The reader will as observe, that the sessioners, as they are called, were ma use of only as informers against innocent people. An profitution of the office of ruling elder! But the day were at the bottom of all the persecution of period.

Claverhouse's le verities.

During the months of March and April, Claverta exercifed his powers to the utmost in the South; that country was grievously harrassed by searching Mr. Cameron's followers, for all who had been at B wel, all in the fugitive roll, and who had not appear at Courts; for multitudes were forced to wander mountains and caves, and many, through other parts the kingdom, had retired for shelter, to the mountain There were like places in Galloway and Nithsdale. spies and informers, who were bribed by the soldie neither were the Papists unactive in informing again these wanderers; for these being of the DUKE's relig were not only overlooked, but also met with encount

nent, while many innocent people were exposed to the 1683.

reatest hardships.

At this time, Meldrum had fent in Walter Thomson, Mel-Wal. Smith and \_\_\_\_\_ Turnbull prisoners to Edinburgh, drum's inecause they would not pay the same fines over again to justice. im, that they had paid to the Sheriff of Roxburgh. The three prisoners represented this to the Council, and were released; but no notice was taken of Meldrum.

On the 4th of May, David M'Millan, James Brown, John Paterson, William Miller, James Gemble, George Lapfley (p. 161) and Rob. Lawfon, were before the Lords f Justiciary at Edinburgh. The first was executed, the our next took the test, and were released. The two aft refused the test, and were remitted to the roth of fune; but their indictment was found relevant.

David M'Millan, before a Committee of the Council, cknowledged that he was apprehended, in a church, or being at Bothwel; but then he faid, that Bothwel David vas not rebellion, being in defence of the truth, M'Millan hat he acknowledged the present authority, as far as executed. he King had kept his engagements according to the word of God. When this his confession was read before he Justiciary, he said, that something was inserted,

Sishop's death. Upon which the President said, Well, that fay you to that now? He answered, that he had o judgment to judge fuch heads. He refused the test, thich was offered him, as the condition of faving his fe, and was therefore fentenced to be hanged at the frass-market on the 16th of May. He suffered with John Wilson, of whom I am now to speak, and died

which he had not spoken, particularly, concerning the

ith a great deal of peace and composure. In the paper e left behind him, he bleffed God, who had inclined im to " join with the persecuted party at Bothwel,-

and earnestly wished, that love might continue among the godly, notwithstanding differences in religion; and pressed all to mourn for broken vows and promifes, flighted offers and opportunities, and a broken

COVENANT; and declared, that he died in the faith of it, that God would return to Scotland; that he

" Covenants;

adhered to the Confession of Faith, Catechisms and Ff2

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1688. " Governmes; and left his testimony against bearing " Curates, paying of cess and the indulgence. - My for

es concludes be. shall bless him through all the ages

" eternity."

John Wilion,

The fame 4th of May, John Wilson writer in Lane was brought before the Justiciary, and, having been for merly condemned to die, was now ordered for exer tion on the 9th of May. He had been at Bothwel, an owned that he had acted as Captain there. When a prehended, he resolved to use the utmost freedom, and at the same time, as much caution and prudence, as w consistent with truth.

Committee.

before the On the 17th of April, he was examined before a Com mittee of the Council, and, among other things, w asked, "What he thought of Bothwel? was it not un " lawful to rife in arms? He faid he durst not fay " was unlawful; for the confession contained in the " fays, that it is a good work to defend the life of the ham " lefs; and that however God had disposed of the " people, yet he supposed, the Lord would own those, wh

"hearing their neighbours had been worshipping Go " and (for defending themselves against those the " fought their life) were in jeopardy of their live

"thought it their duty to rife for their relief. Then the

" asked if Pentland was rebellion. He answered, the "the oppression of that poor people was so great, the

" the then rulers condemned Sir James Turner for " cruelty. One of them faid, that he knew Sir Ja

" went not the length of his commission. Then they also

" if the Bishop's death was murther. He defired to " excused; for he would not answer that question

" and being pressed again and again, he told them,

"being nothing that concerned his falvation, he did " pry into it. Then they faid, how did Bothwel on

" cern your falvation? He faid, there was none, w " engaged themselves in service to God, but they

" hoved to be at his call; and it being for faving! " life of the barmless, he durst not sit God's bidding

" He was also examined concerning authority, but & " not time to answer; and in the remarks he made

"this examination, he regretted that he did not ee pro

prove this opportunity, in testifying against the eccle- 1682. fastical beadship.

He was also examined, the same day, before the before the ouncil, where he owned his being at Bothwel, and de-Council. ared, that he did not think it rebellion, vindicated the

wfulness of felf-defence. And when they asked it he med authority, he faid, "Government might be taken feveral ways; 1. For the simple command of the prince. 2. For the more publick command of the Prince and people. 3. For the power a Prince may be cloathed with by a people. 4. For a Prince's right to govern a people. As many of the Prince's edicts and acts of parliament were against Presbyterians, and Presbyterian-Government, he could not own it in the two first fenses, unles he denied himself to be a Presbyterian. He added,

he could not own it in the third sense, since the people had cloathed the King with the beadship of the church.

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As to the last sense, his right to govern, he had not feen through the denial of it." He also makes re-

arks on this examination, which the reader will find the Cloud of Witnesses.

In his papers, he gave an account of what passed beeen the Advocate and him. The Advocate told him. ere was room for mercy, if he did not obstinately pertin his opinion. He answered, that he had delivered opinion, but what he had justified from the Confession Faith, which they had lately sworn, &c. He was ked, if he would \* bond before sentence, there being \* take the room for mercy afterwards. He answered, he would test. t, and at another day, all sentences would be can-

sed before the great Judge of Heaven and Earth.

His friends advised him to supplicate for a reprieve, His petihe should be better advised as to his answers to the tion. nuncil, or because of his confusions since he came to ion, or that he might have a longer time to prete for eternity; but he refused to petition on any of fe grounds. He faid, had his petition gone on the figround, it would be a declaring to the world, that called his principles in question. The second would

a flandering Christ's cross, wherein every step had

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1683. been to him mercy and truth. And as to the third, could not do it in faith: However, on the 7th of M he gave in a petition for a reprieve, on account of wife's case, who was then big with child. And he terwards declared, that he had folid peace in fo doing,

During these things, he had a conference with William Paterson, Bishop Paterson's Brother, concent the grounds upon which he stated his sufferings, in which he vindicated the lawfulness of defensive arms; but conference had no influence to alter any of the file Mr. Wilson was reprieved till the 16th, when held fered with David M'Millan according to his fentence,

His last testimony is in the Cloud of Witnesses, which, among other things, he fays, " I am really "that opinion, that God shall root this race of King " root and branch, away, and make them like I " and Zalmunna, for taking God's house in possession " and refolving to root out the feed of the Godly und "the name of Fanaticks." He most chearfully lest wife, children and fifters, upon God, and died in Lord.

Sir John Munro of Fowlis.

There were, at this time, but few in the north parts of the kingdom, that were firm to the princip of the reformation. However, there were some, as have formerly observed, and among others, the fam of Fowlis. My author observes, that on the 8th May, Sir John Munro of Fowlis elder, was, by Council, confined to his own house in the shire of M and a mile round it, for his alledged withdrawing in his parish Church. This Gentleman, on account of corpulent structure, was nicknamed the Mortarpius Presbytery. His eminent piety and zeal exposed him no small fufferings at times; for, besides a long com ment, his estate, which before was considerable, harraffed by feveral fines and confiscations, from which it has not recovered to this day. I am forry I can give a more particular account of the fufferings of Gentleman, whose family greatly supported the into of the reformation, in the North of Scotland, and had three grandsons, who lost their lives in the last natural rebellion, standing up in the defence of the

on and liberties of their country, in opposition to a 1683. elended branch of a family, that has been the constant agues of Great Britain, viz. Sir R. Munro of Fowlis, aptain George Munro of Culcairn, and Doctor Duncan funro: but as the revd. Doctor Doddridge of Norampton has favoured the world with some account of is family, in an appendix to his remarkable passages the life of Colonel Gardner, who was killed in the ttle of Preston, 1745, thither I refer the reader. On the 10th of May, Mr. James Renwick (p. 147, Mr. Ren-48, 162) was ordained at Groningen. The focieties for wick ormeral correspondence, considering the dismal situation dained. ings were in at this time, and that they had no Misters they could join with, agreed to send Mr. Renick to the University of Groningen, in the United Prones, to profecute his studies; which he did with much probation, for the space of six months, and was orined, indefinitely, to the work of the ministry, by the position of hands. The revd. Mr. Shields says, Life of Such was the case of that poor people that made ap-Renwick, plication, that they could neither get faithful Minif-p. 21. ters free of defection, whom, with freedom of conscience, they might call, — nor would they answer their reiterated requests, whom they did call; neither would any Ministers, at that time, opposite to their testimony, ordain any of their way; nor could they leek it without condemning their testimony, &c. therefore they fent Mr. Renwick to the Provinces." In the formatory vindication it is faid, "Though the Claffis of Groningen, by whom he was ordained, differ from the reformation of Scotland, in her best times, in some things; yet considering, 1. That in these differences, they were never reformed, and so cannot be charged therein with defection. 2. That they agree with the true presbyterial Church of Scotland, in all principles against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all beretical and sectarian errors. 3. That they did then object nothing against our present testimony. 4. That they come under a general, and far other confideration, being of a foreign church, than Ministers of the same original church, and under the same bond of cove-

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1683. " nant with ourselves. 5. That in the act of ordin tion, they did obtrude none of these differences, h

took him engaged to teach according to the worl

" God, the Confession of Faith of the Church of & co land and the discipline thereof; upon all which con

" derations, it was thought lawful to accept of ordin " tion from the faid Classis." --- Accordingly, M

Remwick, instead of the Belgie forms, was allowed fign the Westminster Confession and Catechisms.

Earlftoun apprehended.

On the last of May, or first of June, Mr. Alexan Gordon Laird of Earlstown (p. 44) was taken at Na castle, going to Holland. This worthy Gentleman ha ing been much abroad fince Bothwel, returned and join the focieties. He was pitched upon, at one of their neral meetings, and, fays my author, joined in a con miffion with his brother-in-law Robert Hamilton, to pair to Holland, to represent the circumstances and pri ciples of those people to the reformed churches the but it would feem, my author is mistaken in the cumstances of Earlstoun's commission from the societies for Mr. Shields fays, that after the publishing of

Renwick's Lanerk declaration (p. 175, 176) the next general me life, p. 17, ing, finding themselves much condemned, reproach

and informed against in foreign churches, as if they fallen from the principles of the Church of Scotland, in wild errors, thought it expedient to fend the Laird Earlstoun to the United Provinces, to vindicate themself from these reproaches. This was in the year 1682. A I find, that Earlfoun's commission was dated at E burgh 2 April 1682, and subscribed by James Renaid and fent to him at Newcastle; but the above Robe Hamilton is not so much as mentioned in it. he got another commission last spring, is more than know. However, when Earlstoun and his fervant ! ward Atkins were apprehended, he was aboard a bound from Newcastle to Holland; and lest his paper should fall into the hands of his enemies, he threw to into the sea; but they were observed and taken up, both of them were fent up to Newgate.

This affair made the more noise at this time, " examined. happened when a pretended plot was faid to be different and the different was faid to be different was faid to hap. 9. CHURCH of SCOTLAND. red against the King's life; and the Council and Bi- 1683. ops were big with expectations of mighty discoveries om Earlstoun's papers; but, upon the strictest examition of them, nothing was found but a letter figned N. commissions and instructions from the focieties,

th letters to some Dutch Ministers and Scotsmen in olland, and papers on civil bufiness.

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The conspiracy, pretended now to be carried on, was Ryeat commonly called the Rye-house-plot, because, as was houseedged, the conspirators had formed a design to assaf- plot. nate the King and Duke at the house of the Rye, thin two miles of Hodsdon in Hertfordshire, which was en inhabited by Richard Rumbold. An ingenious iter speaking of this and other sham plots, says, The shattered remains of English liberty were then at- Weltacked on every fide; and some of the noblest blood wood's of the nation was offered up a facrifice to the manes of edit. 6. p. popish martyrs, and made to attone for the Bill of Ex- 118. clusion. Swearing came once more into fashion, which a new evidence-office was erected at Whitehall. But whereas the witnesses of the popish-plot were browbeaten and discouraged, those of the protestant-plot were highly encouraged; and inflead of Judges and Juries that might perhaps boggle at half-evidence, as it fell out in profecution of the former, care was taken, in this, to pick out fuch as should stick at nothing to serve a turn. It was by such Judges and Juries, that the Lord Ruffel and Mr. Sidney fell; and the cutting off those two noble lives, may be reckoned among the first triumphs of the Duke's party in England." This matter might have been intirely omitted, but No offaf-

at several valuable persons were prosecuted and suf-fination, ed in Scotland for this pretended conspiracy. It is cer-designed. n, that feveral patriots for religion and liberty in both tions, had frequent meetings among themselves in der to consult upon proper measures, for securing these valuable privileges, which were then at the stake. t that ever Lord Russel, Col. Algernon Sidney, the Earl Argyle, the Laird of Jerviswood, the revd. Mr. William rstairs and others, were concerned in any assassinating fign, was never proved against them, nor could be. VOL. II.

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They were persons of quite different principles, as m 1683. afterwards appear.

Letter and proclation.

When this conspiracy was pretended to be discovered a letter came from the King, requiring that none mig be suffered to depart the Kingdom without leave; the Council, foon after, iffued a proclamation, int terms of the King's letter, and another against the Du of Buccleugh and Monmouth. In the English declaration for a thanksgiving, it is said, that a general insurred tion was intended, and that a correspondence was eff blished in Scotland; and that the Earl of Argyle, Lo Melvil, Sir John Cochran, Mr. William Carstairs, a others, were concerned in it. It is not worth while, mention the Scots proclamation for a thankfgiving, on that it is entitled, Proclamation indisting a thanksging for the deliverance from the fanatical conspiracy; and the fanatical, the term of reproach given to Presbyterian, in the body of the proclamation, joined with atheist and republican principles, and named first, as if, int fense of the compilers, it was the worst of the three.

Executions in England.

The executions in *England* on this account, as that Lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, &c. are out of my wa Only I cannot but observe, that all the violent measure then purfued, were the effects of the malicious jealou of the Duke of York, against his rival the Duke of M mouth and his friends, so that, for some time, the lat was forced to keep out of the way. But passing the things, I return to what more immediately concerns history.

Proclamation.

On the 4th of June, the Council issued a proclam tion, forbidding all to exercise the offices of teachers, dagogues or chaplains, unless they take the test. noblemen did encourage them, they were to be fined 3000 merks, Gentlemen in 1200, Burgesses and other in 600 merks.

Claverattend the circuits.

The same day, they appointed the Laird of Class house, &c. house, Meldrum, &c. to attend the Justices at the circul to answer what questions shall be asked, and give the informations, they can, against rebels, &c.

Circuit at Stirling.

Next day, the Circuit fat down at Stirling, who among others, one William Johnstoun a Stirling hire m

appear

peared before them; the wounds he received at Both- 1683. d, had for a long time deprived him of his reason; so at he had been overlooked till now. He and the rest fore the test on their knees; but he knew not what did; for when he was told, that he had renounced hat he had owned at Bothwel, he relapsed into his forer distemper, and died in a few days.

About the beginning of this month, as a party of Inchldiers was carrying one Alexander Smith (p. 136) to bridge. dinburgh, they were attacked by some of his friends ar Inchbelly-bridge. The foldiers were beat, one of em was killed, and the prisoner released. The counymen retired in good order with their friend; but thin a little, the foldiers rallied, and, fearching the jacent places, happened to seize John Wharry or J. Wharry Wharry, and James Smith, while sitting together in and J. Smith exewood near the place, without any arms but their staves. cuted. he poor men were immediately carried to Glasgow. me fay, two of the foldiers were suborned to swear, that ey faw them kill the foldier; but it appears, that no messes were examined, the Court sustaining it as revant, that they were taken near the place; whereas,

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d they been any ways concerned, they doubtless would we retired with the rest. They were condemned to we their right hands cut off, then to be hanged, and eir bodies to hang in chains at Inchbelly-bridge. And cordingly on the 13th of June they were both executed Glasgow. The Cloud of Witnesses says they suffered on e 11th. They were most pious and religious persons; d the letters they wrote to their friends, on this occain, breathe an uncommon spirit of piety. They rejoiced their bonds, and joyed in their tribulations. When bn Wharry's hand was cut off, instead of shrinking, held up the stump, and said, This and other blood, w shed, will yet raise the burnt Covenants.

The day they were executed, the Circuit fat down at Circuit at algow, and there appeared at the bar, John Ruffel Glasgow. ntioner in Eastfield, Gavin Paterson seuar in Bothwelels, Rob. Russel in Windyedge, Mr. Tho. Hamilton of ith, and James Hamilton of Parkbead. The most that

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was proved against them was, that they were seen company with the rebels; but there were not two were nesses that agreed in the same thing, except as to Rai and Parkbead; and both swore that they were without arms; and yet they were all condemned to be execute when the Council and Justiciary should think fit. We shall meet with several of them next year.

On the 15th, the Circuit proceeded against Jan Maxwell of Williamwood and John Maxwell younger Bogtoun, both in the parish of Cathcart in the shired Renfrew. They were in absence both forseited in and fortune, though there was no proof of their ben

at Bothwel.

Maxwell of William wood.

Mr. Maxwell of Williamwood was an uncommonfi ferer by the Highland-host 1678; and in the follown fummer, a party commanded by one Scot of Bonnits came, and without any orders they would produ carried off 50 bolls of meal, 4 horses, with the who houshold furniture left by the Highlanders, cut the ba with their fwords, and damaged what they could m carry off. All this was occasioned by an information given by Mr. Finnick the Curate of Cathcart. However Williamwood, conscious of his integrity and loyalt furnished his house anew and dwelt in it, till May or June 1680, a false information was give against him, as having been at Bothwel. Whereupon was feized and carried first to Glasgow, and then Edinburgh, where he was several times before the Cou cil; and no proof appearing of his being at Bothwel, was released, upon bond, to appear on the first of & tember. In short, he got up his bond, and obtained liberty. But notwithstanding this, about the end of 1681 he was again attacked, and had his house pillaged foldiers; so that finding there was no fafety for him from the malice of the faid Finnick, he lett out land to tenants, and lived privately for some time, a at last retired to Ireland. While there, a summo was left at his house in Scotland to appear before Justiciary. Montgomery the Sheriff-deputy dealt wil feveral persons, who were in the porteous-roll, to swee

ap. 9: CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

t they saw Williamwood at Bothwel, promising that 1683. would get them acquitted, and their names scratched of the roll. But they would not purchase their lity at such a price. However, one Hart, a profligate etch, and another like him, were prevailed with; and Williamwood was fentenced, as above, before ever he ew there was an indictment against him, and his ate given to Provost Johnstoun of Glasgow, and his fe and fix small children put to shift for bread till the ppy revolution. In the year 1684, his wife was har-fed from place toplace, till, through toil and grief, she din November. These well attested facts will doubtsfurnish the reader with proper reflections.

Many other Gentlemen received indictments before
s court at Glasgow, particularly James Muirhead of
adisholm. He was a great favored.

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Many other Gentlemen received indictments before J. Muirs court at Glasgow, particularly James Muirhead of head of adisholm. He was a great favourer of the Presby-Bradish-

ians. But though his house was within two miles of olm. thwel, yet, during that rifing, he retired from home eral weeks. In the year 1681, he was profecuted bee the Circuits; but no proof appearing, all profecun was discharged. When he was, as he thought, see, he was again put into the porteous-roll, and reved a new indictment before this Circuit-Court at agow; but nothing appearing against him, he was erred to the Justiciary at Edinburgh, and, by their ler, was released. Notwithstanding this, he was, very next year, putin to the porteous-roll, and inted before the Circuit, for the same pretended acfion to Bothwel; and because he would not clear himby taking the test, he was charged before the Coun-

for refett and converse, keeping Conventicles, and was td in 4000 merks, and kept 14th months in prison at inburgh. In short, the country was put to great trouble and People put t expences at these Circuits. It cost John Ayton, to great o. Leiper, Jam. Martinbolm, Alex. Small, John Steil expences.

Brakenridge, John Mack in Caldergreen, with several re, who attended this Circuit above 200 merks each, ore they got home. Great sums were likewise ex-

ted from honest people, to get free from sitting on Juries. John Luke of Claythorn paid at different

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the case of And. Gibson, Geo. Bogle and others. Macconsiderable merchants in Glasgow lost a great deal

money, to be freed from fitting in these Juries.

Circuit at

The Circuit-court sat down at Air on the 22d of Jun The Curates in that shire, especially Mr. Abercrombie Carrick and Mr. Joseph Chelland in Dalserf, signalize themselves in procuring informations. Vast number were summoned, out of every parish in the shire, to give informations. The persons informed against were changed to clear themselves by taking the test. The reculant were imprisoned, and they who did not appear were clared rebels, &c.

Campbel of Water shaugh, &c.

On the faid 22d of June, Mr. Mat. Campbel of Wa ershaugh, Rob. Lockbart of Bankhead, James Brown lo to James Brown in Newmills, John Paterson in Dand lan, Ad. Reid in Mauchlin, John Wilson in Lindsoybil John Crawford of Torshaw, And. Brown of Duncanza mer, Mr. John Halbert, Col. John Burns and Jam Macneilly of Auchnairn were indicted for being in am at Bothwel. They were all absent except Bankhead an And. Brown, who confest their guilt, offered to take the test, and threw themselves on the King's mercy. So tence was not pronounced against these two till the of August, when they were condemned to be behealt at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 9th; but it seems by fore that, they were pardoned. All the rest were, i absence, sentenced to be executed as traitors, when a prehended.

J. Cochran of Waterfide.

W. Bofwel. John Cochran of Waterside was, in absence, forfeits for conversing with rebels. There were strong suprisons, that the two witnesses, who deposed against them were suborned.

William Boswel, a young Gentleman in the parish Auchinleck, was obliged to take the test and pay 1000 merks fine to preserve his estate from forfeiture. A his crime was, that, when he happened to fall in will a company of men, going to join the West-count army, he stopt his horse to see them draw up.

W. Torbran.

William Torbran, late Provost of Stranrawer, wis fummoned before this Circuit. This Gentleman endure

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retire to Ireland, where he was, when summoned to pear. His Lawyers, with difficulty, got 60 days owed to cite him as one out of the kingdom. When ele were expired, sentence of death was past upon him, ough no crime was proved against him but his above and non-appearance; so that he was obliged to stay road till 1687, when he found his losses exceeding

The Circuit next sat down at Dumfries. In this dif-Circuit at at, very sew but Papists, persecutors and their friends Dumfries, caped. They, who had formerly signed the bond, are here made use of as witnesses, and were grievously rrassed, if they did not turn informers too. The taking the test, which was pressed with rigour, saved the es of many. They who did not appear, were deted traitors, and all, who after that conversed with em, whether father, mother, brother, sister, husband wise, became in law as guilty as they; and thus the ry ties of nature were broken.

In consequence of what passed at the Circuit at Jed-rgb, many were made prisoners. All who refused burgh, etest, were bound over to Edinburgh, upon sinding il to appear there the second of August. Mr. Gladmes, one of the prisoners, says, in a letter to the Laird Cavers, "That Stevenson, Ormistoun, Maudsley, Pollock, Maxwel, Greenock and Blackcastle, were sent to the Castle of Edinburgh, Sir John Riddel and another to the prison of Haddingtoun and Bonjedburgh, Well, William Ker uncle to Greenbead, Gideon Scot and himself to that of Edinburgh, where, with about 60 other Gentlemen, they remained about ten days, till the prison—became dangerous for their health." Some these prisoners were released upon bail, to appear ten called, others continued in prison for a consider-

Thus much for the *Circuits* this year. After they re over, droves of prisoners were carried from prison prison; and if I may use the expression, the jail at simburgh was the common reservoir. The *Papists*, all s while, were not only overlooked, but encouraged.

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Other Courts.

It has been related, that others were impowered hold courts and tender the test, and they generally excent ed their instructions. Hallyards and one Duncan Gran foldier, with powers from him, held courts in the part of Kilbride, and neighbouring parishes in the shire Lanerk. Grant was a terror to that part of the country All suspected persons were fined as he thought fit, % Wilson in Hifflet had his house rifled, and lost 679 6 s. 8 d. Grant fent his foldiers upon free quarters in parish, sometimes to one house, and sometimes to an ther. It was dreadful for the country to be oppress not only by the Commissioners, but also by their wretch deputies, who acted without controul. The fines in posed by Hallyards in the parish of Kilbride came to great fum, not to speak of the damages done by foldiers. John Watt in that parish lost above 500 men and John Granger 1100. Creichton and others of orthodox clergy constantly attended at these Courts, the parish of Evandale, the Laird of Netherfield, A Muir in Ploughland, Alex. Hamilton in Halls, and the or four more, were imprisoned, for alledged reset a converse, and fined in 9531. 135.4d. The sheriffsa their deputies took care to have their share of the find Cornet Graham held his Courts in Balmaghie, and

Cornet Graham's Courts.

Cornet Graham held his Courts in Balmaghie, and the Laird of Lagg acted with the utmost virulence, as like wise did Thomas Lidderdale of St. Mary Isle. The like Courts were held at Kirkcudbright and Dumfries, who all, whom they were pleased to suspect, were required to take the test, and the recusants sent to jail. It would be endless to mention particulars.

Wefteraw's intimation.

However, I cannot omit one fingular outrage committed at Moffat, which was within the commission the Laird of Westeraw. This wretch ordered intimition to be made in the church, on the Lord's Day, the test was to be offered to-morrow in the parish, as summoned all the heads of the families to appear. As this, he openly said, The devil damn his soul in hell, he before morrow's night, they should be all damned as as he.

I might here likewise mention, that another branch oppression, at this time, was owing to those who had g

the fines made to them; for many were forced to leave 1682. ir houses, and were reduced to great straits by the rciless exaction of these fines: but I pass all these r, and go on to other things in the order of time. On the 12th of July, Andrew Guillan, a weaver near Andrew gusmuir, was before the Lords of Justiciary, for the Guillan th of the Archbishop of St. Andrews; and he was apprehendonly person, that may be said to have suffered prely on that score (p. 24.) On the 11th of June last, Curate of the parish came by, while he was at work h a countryman, and asked him, whether he kept church. Andrew told him, he did not own him, would give him any account; whereupon the Cucalled the neighbours, and feized him. Then he carried to the Cockpen, and pressed to drink the g's health; and upon refusing, was committed to

on at Dalkeith, and from thence to Edinburgh, where was put in the Ironhouse.

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At one of his examinations, (for there was no proof trepanned his being any ways concerned in the affair of Sharp) into a le the Advocate was expatiating on the aggravating confession, umstances of that affair, and, among other things, representing, that, when the Bishop was upon his es praying, they killed him. Andrew being touched his, lifted up his hands, and cried out, O! dreadful! would not pray one word, for all that could be said to

This was enough. His own confession was brought as proof of his being condemned, cerned in the Bishop's death, and accordingly, he sentenced to be taken to the Cross of Edinburgh on day July the 20th, to have both his hands cut off the foot of the gallows, and then to be hanged, his d to be cut off, and fixed at Cowpar, and his body to lung in chains at Magus-muir.

He endured his sufferings with great courage. The executed. gman, being drunk, or affecting to be so, gave him frokes in cutting off his hands, which he endured invincible patience. When his right hand was off, he held up the stump before the spectators, and , My bleffed Lord sealed my salvation with his blood, I am bonoured, this day, to seal his truths with my d. After his body had hung for some time, in chains, OL. II.

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Vol. 1683. some people came and took it down, which exposed

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part of the country to no small trouble. In his last timony, where are many excellent advices, he fa among other things, "I declare, I die not as a m "therer, or as an evil doer, altho' this covenant but

" ing, perjured, murdering generation lay it to a

charge, as though I was a murderer, on account " the justice that was executed on that Judas, who h

the Kirk of Scotland for 50000 merks a year,-

Edward Atkin was condemned and executed at same time with Andrew Guillan. His crime conversing with the Laird of Earlstoun, which he knowledged, and bleffed God for the converse held with him. Hard measure with a witness!

On the 18th of July, Sir Thomas Hope of Craigh Skene of Hallyards elder, Holburn of Menstrie, and of Gentlemen, were indicted before the Justiciary for the and converse; but were dismissed upon taking

test.

Mr. Car-Stairs apprehended.

Ed. Atkin.

> On the 23d, the revd. Mr. William Carstairs was prehended in England, at Kenterden in Kent, on hi cion that he was Mr. Fergusson, one of the suppo conspirators. He was admitted to bail for some a after which he was committed to the common jul the place. All he was accused of, was his refusing oaths, one of which had been then expired by law, the Oxford-oath. After he had been there a fortnight, was fent to London and committed, for two days, 1 a Messenger's hands. During which time, Sir And Forester came to him, in the King's name, and offer him a pardon and all kindness, if he would discovery he knew of that matter, which, fays Mr. Carla shews the falshood of what was positively afferted, in account given in the name of the KING and Duk York, that never any hopes of favour were offered, any to induce them to confess.

Committed to the Gateboufe.

He was afterwards called before a Committee of Council, and, not giving them that fatisfaction desired, was committed to the Gatebouse. He had his fellow prisoner Major Holmes, who had been at and correspondent of the Earl of Argyle, and to w

hap. 9. was defired to give a cypher of names to correspond 1683. th, and to which he added feveral with his own hand, nich was well known to the Earl of Melford. oved afterwards prejudicial to him; for it was found nong his papers, when he was feized. Besides, the ajor told the Lords of Council, that there had been ne confultations about lending money to Argyle.

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He continued in the Gatehouse eleven weeks close pri- sent to ner; and thinking himself secure, against being sent Scotland Scotland, under the protection of the babeas-corpus- and imprii, in the first of Michaelmas term, petitioned the Edinourt of King's-Bench for either being brought to his burgh. al, or admitted to bail; but the day after that, he was dered to prepare for Scotland, in 24 hours, to be tried ere, for crimes committed in that Kingdom, though, feveral years, he had not been in that country, but possant. Accordingly, he was fent to Scotland in the ng's Kitchin yacht, with several other Scots Gentleen; and was, with them, committed to the jail of linburgh, where he was close prisoner for several onths, and where I must leave him, in order to relate hat happened in the mean time.

On the 24th, Rob. Hamilton, Laird of Monkland, was Laird of osecuted before the Justiciary, and indicted "for be-Monkland ing with four servants at Schaw muir in June 1679, prosecuted. keeping a Council of War with the murtherers of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, conversing with them, entertaining them at his house; and that he entertained and received rent from tenants, after they had been at Bothwel." This Gentleman was, what was en called, regular, and had never given the least evince of what was accounted disloyalty. While the Westintry-army was near his house, and he was told that e of his children had strayed towards them, he went t to bring back his child, which he thought was no me; but though nothing else appeared against him, was sentenced to be beheaded at the Cross of Edinrgb on the 10th of August next. And though the senice was not executed, yet the cruel treatment he met th, bore so hard on his spirits, that he fell sick and died,

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1683, and his fon, at the revolution, was obliged to fell half of his estate.

On the 24th, 25th and 30th of this month, the lowing persons were imprisoned for alledged rebelli reset of rebels and other treasonable crimes, viz. y Porterfield of Douchal, \*James Hamilton of Aikenbe Mr. And. Hay of Craignethan, Will. Bredin of Whelph John Gilkers heritor in Biggar, James Paterson in Shi 7. Dunlop of Housbill, G. Muirhead of Stevenson, Mr. Bannantyne of Corebouse, after the revolution Ministeral nerk, \*G. Houstoun of Johnstoun, J. Pirrie in Nuik, Hamilton of Westburn, Alan Wat in Kirktoun, A. M. and Don. Richmond in Harestocks, J. Bruce in Net toun of Hamiltoun, Tho. Alftoun of Mynes, James Stra Arch. Roxburgh, John Muir, John Robertson, Rd Wilson, And. Ross, John Allan, Will. Paterson, 7 Alexander, Tho. Bowis, Tho. Dinning, Will. Sm. James Brown, all in Hamilton, James Muirhead Bradisholm, James and John Murray in Auchina Pa. Park writer in Glasgow, Marc. Marshal merch there, Mr. And. Kennedy, alias Weir of Clowburn.

July 25, John Young in Linbank, Eliezer Allan his fon John, Tho. Allan younger of Coldstream, to Young chamberlain of Evandale, \* James Stuart of H wood, John Fisher in Covingtoun-mill, James Creichta Biggar, James Gilkerson in Side, Mat. Hamilton son Gav. in Haws, Alex. Cunningham of Craigends, \*# Muir of Glanderstoun, John Anderson of Dovebill, A Muir in Pentland, Tho. Young in Cothill, John Me in Nuikfoot, Ga. Semple in Overtoun, John. Steil d in Brakenridge, John Cochran in Cairnduff, Will. Ih fon in Waterhead, Al. Hamilton in Haws, \*Sir f Maxwell of Nether-pollock, Sir John Schaw of G nock, \* John Chiefly of Carfwell, \*Gav. Muirhead Lauchop, \*Sir Al. Hamilton of Haggs, James Chand of Steilbill, Mr. John Hamilton of Hallcraig, Will. rest of Maschoch mill, Mat. Thomson in Bothwel, J. fmith in Allartoun, Rob. Hamilton of Burnbrae, Lowdon in Hamiltoun, John Muirbead, And. Little, Wright, Rob. Alstoun, James Mack, Will. Mathie th Will. Cook, John Lowdon in Carphin-bridgend, Mr. #

usel chamberlain to Sir Dan. Carmichael, \*Sir Robert 1683.

mclair of Stevenson, \*Will. Baily of Lammingtoun, Al.

wrham of Duntervie, Mr. Will. Douglass of Bads, Da.

swald of Eastburn, Sir Pat. Hepburn of Blackcastle,

Ad. Cockburn of Ormistoun, Mr. James Mitchell son to

wletson, John Flint in Breichmill, John Wallace in

leugh-head, And. Rob in Wailsley, Mr. Pat. Inglis poroner in Eastbarnes.

July 30th, John Peltin in Whitehill of Lesmahago, rch. Crawford of Auchinmains, John Cannon of Headerk, James Galloway of Shields, Mr. Will. Rankin late thoolmaster at Air, Tho. Mackneilly in Ochiltree, John peir there, John Forrest in Langhouse in Carlouk, And. rentice, Dav. Dykes, And. Hutchisen of Sorn, Dunlop of that ilk, Fergus Macrubben of Knockdallen, Fullertoun of that ilk, Dav. Boswel of Auchinleck, Geo. Fullertoun of the original property of the state of the

f Kirktoun.

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These with \* before their names, and a good many thers, were released before the 22d of August, against hom nothing could be proved. Others gave bond to ppear when called. Vast numbers escaped imprisonhent by taking the test; but then there were not a few nat were declared fugitives and out-laws, by the Justiciyon the faid 25th of July, as W. Thomson procurator in anerk, Gideon Crawford merchant in Biggar, James Auirhead younger in Lanerk, John Clelland portioner of tane, James Thomson of Harestocks, John Browning there, Dav. Gilkerson, Hum. Stevenson, James Forrest, Al. Smith, obn Scot, John Nasmith in Cledans, John Nasmith in lamiltoun, Will. Bell, John Simson, Arch. Scot, John Marshal of Chapel, Rob. Murray, Tho. Allan, and John Marshal in Kilsyth. How happy were the days, when ich numbers tasted the sweets of imprisonment, and the leafures of outlawry!

The Circuit-courts being over for this time, so many New comlings were reserved to the Council, that they gave a mission. lew Commission on the 28th of July to John Boyl of alburn, Ardmillan, Coll. Buchan, &c. to hold Courts

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1683. for enquiring after those, who were suspected as gu of rebellion or reset of rebels, or who maliciously dered fuch, as testified their loyalty, by taking the test

Orders to the governor of the Bass.

The same day, Masters M'Gilligen, Philip and Son were ordered to be fent from the prison of Edinburgh the Bass; and the Governor of the Bass was enjoined fuffer no man-fervants to wait on the prisoners, to infor all letters and papers fent to or from the prisoners, to fi only two at a time to have the benefit of walking abo the prison walls, between the rising and setting of i fun, and only two to come at a time from the shore the prisoners, and always some to be present to hearth discourse.

Mr. Frazer of Brae.

The revd. Mr. Frazer of Brae (p. 171, &c.) feized at London in this month of July, upon the brea ing out of the plot, and, foon after, was brought belo the King and the Duke of York. After he had fatish them as to his knowing nothing of the plot, the Kn asked him, what he thought of the Archbishop of Andrews murther. He answered, he had no hand in nor was accessary to it; yea, he was grieved when heard of it; and, as he would not justify or have had hand in it for the world, fo for him to conden it, or declare it murther, was what he could not do, the he was a doer of the law and not a judge. And at his inward fentiments, he defired to be excused, not ing free to give an account of his thoughts before a human judicatory, who were only judges of mens wa The King next asked him, concerning obligation of the Covenants, to which Mr. Frazer plied, that though he had never taken the Covena yet he looked upon himself as bound to all in them a moral import. Though the King seemed to be in fied with his having no concern in the plot, yet her remitted to the Lord-Mayor, who asked him, il would take the oaths. He declared, he was willing take the oath of allegiance; but demurred on that of fupremacy, and absolutely refused the Oxford oath! who upon he was fent to Newgate, where he continued months, and had fuch good entertainment, compa and conversation, that he says himself, he could sa

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lit suffering. And indeed there was a great differ- 1683. ce between the sufferers in England, and those in Scot- id, where the managers were acted from a real spirit of nelty.

On the 2d of August, Mr. Anthony Schaw and Mr. Indulged In Veitch, Mr. Rob. Millar, Mr. John Campbell, Mr. Ministers ob. Boyd, Mr. William Baily, and Mr. James Veitch, prosecuted. Indulged Ministers, were charged with treasonable crimes. he two first were ordered to be imprisoned at Edingel. The process against the rest was delayed. We

all meet with most of them again next year.

On the 8th of August, William Muir Laird of Glan-Gase of rstoun, who had been, with others, imprisoned on the 5th of July last (p. 236) was released by an act of the derstoun. Insticiary. His case was singular. When he was in a ver, he was blooded by Mr. Spreul an apothecary, ho was a nonconformist. This was constructed control with rebels; and for this Glanderstoun was imprined. He was obliged first to petition the Council; rethe Justiciary, at this time, was intirely under their rection.

On the 16th, the Council ordered the King's Advo-Process the to raise a process of treason against the Earl of Lou-against the Earl of Melvil, Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree and his of Louns John, Sir Hugh Campbel of Cesnock elder, — don. &c. ampbel of Cesnock younger, the Laird of Rowallan elder adyounger, — Montgomery of Langshaw, — airly of Brunssield, — Baily of Jerviswood, — rawford younger of Crawfordland, — Stuart of ullness, and — Denholm of Westshiels. This pross was raised on account of the plot; but it was some me before it was brought to any thing.

On the same 16th of August, the Council had a letter King om his Majesty, thanking them for their care of the thanks the thodox Clergy, and declaring that it was his pleasure they Council. ould pursue the same wholsome methods. This was, The Council doubt, acceptable; for on the 21st they wrote to the cil's deing, desiring, that they might be impowered to nomands. inate the Justices of Peace, in any of the shires, as ey shall see needful, and that, as several had lost the prortunity of taking the test, before the first of August,

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1683. they might have a further opportunity, and that King would approve of what they had done in the powering proper persons to examine witnesses in country, in regard to persons suspected of the rebelling or guilty of reset and converse with rebels. In short, the King granted all their defires, and they iffued a process mation, ordering the common people to take test first of March next, in order to indemnify them for ever, as to their receiving or conversing with such were in the rebellion 1679, except those who have n ceived or conversed with the murtherers of the la Archbishop, or seditious field-preachers, or who were any way, accessary to the late conspiracy. This the reckoned a great instance of clemency. But who perjury was the condition of their clemency, one would be ready to apply to them that faying, The tender me cies of the wicked are cruel. Besides, the taking of the te according to the proclamation, fecured the lives, but m the estates of such Gentlemen, as they could have ana cusation against.

Earlstoun fent enced to die.

By this time, Mr. Alexander Gordon of Earlstown wa come to Scotland, and had been feveral times examine by the Council, and by Committees of their num ber. His answers were open and sincere; but after a their endeavours, they could find nothing relative t the plot. But having been formerly forfeited in life an fortune (p. 162) the Justiciary, on the 21st of August condemned him to be beheaded at the Cross of Edit burgh on the 28th of next month.

Letter conamining bim by torture.

But still hoping to make great discoveries, they we cerning ex- resolved to examine him by torture; but here lay the difficulty; they wanted some point of Law, for tortu ing one under sentence of death. Accordingly, the sam day, they wrote to the Secretary to advise with the King Advocate, then at London, " whether, by the Laws "the kingdom, and the circumstances he is in, being " under sentence of death, he may be put to the que "tion by torture, upon such pertinent questions, " your Lordship and he shall think fit to dra " up, &c.

Mean while this same day, the Lady Moristoun, a ous Gentlewoman, was ordered to leave the kingdom,

thout having any thing to lay to her charge.

On the 29th of August, Mr. J. Dick son to D. Dick ristoun. riter in Edinburgh, having been apprehended, upon the before a formation of a poor woman, whom they had bribed, was Committee amined by the Committee for publick affairs, and in of Counsanswers exceeded the Bishop, in point of argument. n the last of August, he was brought before the Coun-

, and fubscribed what he had confessed upon his ex-

nination, viz. " That he owned the work of reformation, as - contained in the Confession of Faith

and Catechisms conform to the Covenant against Po-

pery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c. --- As to Episco-

pacy, he cannot understand it to be lawful, --- that Episcopacy and Erastianism, established in that and sub-

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fequent Parliaments, were contrary to the word of

God, and that the Supremacy therein established was

most horrid blasphemy." Then, directing himself to the hancellor, he faid, he hoped, his Lordship would not

ke that ill, feeing he had fworn the fame in the test, d defired that this might be added to his confession;

it that was refused. "He did not own the Sanguhar Declaration, but owned the Hamilton, the lawfulness

of felf-defence, Field-meetings, and that the invasion

made against them at Pentland and Bothwel, they being in the exercise of religion, was service done to

the Devil, and that the refistance they made in their

own defence, was service done to God. ——— He

confessed his being at Bothwel, but not at Drumclog, that the King was lawful-born King, and came law-

fully to the crown, and owned his authority con-

were binding to the nations, and should be so to the

end of time, and that that oath, called the TEST, was

a most horrid and unlawful oath, and that he was not obliged to take the fame. As to the killing of

the Archbishop, that he could not give his judgment

about it, it not being an act of his own; but that

some of those, who were called the actors, whom he

knew, were holy and just men." The Council,

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1683. when he figned the confession, failed not to improve and accordingly ordered George Bennerman Advocato profecute him and George Lapfley before the Lor of Justiciary.

before the Fulticiary.

Thus on the 4th of September, they were brought be fore the criminal-court, and indicted for treason. M Dick's confession was produced as evidence against him he owned it in face of the Court, and, being asked, if had any thing to add to it, he answered, "he had on " one clause, viz. that he was of opinion, that all the " blood of the Presbyterians shed those years by gon " merely for their principles, was murther." The Lords would not hear what he had to fay in his on defence. The Jury brought him in guilty; and was fentenced to be hanged at the Graffmarket September 28. When the fentence was pronounced he told them, "that to pass such a sentence upon him "without hearing him in his own defence, was a pra "tice never paralelled among the beathers." And go ing on, he was interrupted and carried off. But ann cident happened, which prevented his execution at the time, which I shall presently relate.

George Lapfley before a Committee of Council:

George Lapsley was for some time a miller at Links gow Mill, and was one of those multitudes, who was converted by the Gospel preached in the fields. A Bothwel he was wounded in the leg, and made prison When before a Committee of the Council, he dila vered, by his answers, that he was a man of undaunted courage and refolution. As he was called before them he was reading his Bible, and carried it with him und his arm. Bishop Paterson was the first that attacked him and asked, if he thought Bothwel-bridge rebellion, hear swered, Sir, you are a perjured Prelate, I will answ you no questions. The other Lords examined him in the manner following:

bis examination.

" Question. Wherefore are are you in prison? In " swer. For hearing the Gospel. Q. Do you go!

" church? A. No. Q. Wherefore? A. Because the " are not the fent Ministers of Christ, and becaused " their perjury. Q. Will you own the King's author

" rity? A. According to the Word of God and Con cc nants nants, and no otherwise, which you have broken and 1683. burnt, and for which the Lord will be avenged. 2. Did you write to Mr. Dick? A. Yes. 2. Who wrote the letter? A. I will give no account. Q. Was the Bishop's death murther? A. I am not concerned with his life or death either. 2. Was Hackstoun's death a murther? A. Yes, and all those whose lives you have taken these two and twenty years. Q. Was you at Bothwel-bridge? A. I will not accuse myself. 2. What thought you of it? A. I thought it duty and not rebellion, and all that were on the contrary party were in rebellion against God, and that you will find. Q. Did you converse with Mr. Welsh? A. Yes, and I bless God for it. 2. What book is that under your arm? A. It is the Acts of the Parliament of Heaven, and I charge you, as ye shall answer at the great day, when ye and I shall stand in equal terms, that ye judge according to what is contained in it. 2. Is it lawful to refift the King's forces at the Fieldmeetings? A. Yes, the law of nature allows self-defence, and the word of God and our Covenants to stand to the defence of one another."

Notwithstanding these bold answers, they were restraind from passing sentence of death, and he escaped before by had another opportunity, and lived a merchant in

dinburgh for many years, after the revolution.

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On the 12th of September, garifons were appointed in Garifons Jumfries, Kaitloch, Earlstoun, &c. which effectually uried on the perfecution against all Nonconformists.

Four days after this, Mr. John Dick, George Lapfley, Prisoners and 24 more, made their escape out of the prison at escape. Idinburgh; for which the Magistrates were called to an ecount, reprimanded and enjoined to be more careful or the suture. Mr. Dick was afterwards taken and excuted.

On the 19th, the Council had a letter from the King, Earlfrdering the fugitive-rolls to be printed; and next day a toun ortter came from Middleton the Secretary to the Chanbe exaellor, relating to the torture of the Laird of Earlstoun mined by
0.240) in which it was declared, that though a man cantorture.
Ot be tortured on questions relating to the crime, for which

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he is condemned, yet he may be tortured for what a lates to plots, conspiracies and combinations, that he happened afterwards; and since Mr. Gordon had a conmission from the rebels, and it doth appear from a letter to him, from I. N. dated at London March the 20 last, that he was privy to the late conspiracy, &c. the fore his Majesty resolved, that he be put to the tortun and interrogated concerning those, from whom he had a said commission, and concerning the said conspiracy, consequence of this, the Council, the same day, a pointed a Committee to meet next Tuesday, and a amine Earlstown by torture.

bis decla-

Accordingly, on the 25th of September, Earlstourn before them; but though the instrument of torture we standing by, yet it was not used; because he declare he would be as ingenuous and more full, than he could be in torture. There were two things upon which he we chiefly examined, viz. the commission from the social called in the Interrogatories the pretended Convention, at the letter signed I. N. As to the first, he declare "That the first time he met with that pretended on

Sprat's copies of informations,

p. 150,

" vention, was near the Inner-Kirk of Kyle in the field about two years ago, and that there were about

" persons or thereby; and that he was brought the from his own house, by one John Nisbet, whom to

"declarant knows no further, than that he is a Wd country-man about Glasgow, and that John Nishi

" another John Nisbet that wrote a letter to him

" Holland under the notion of trade, relating to the rifing and rebellion in England. And farther, the

" about a year and a half ago, he met with another Convention, confisting of fourscore persons or there

" in the fields within five miles of the former place no

"Inner-Kirk, and that very few of them had fwords to which meeting he was advertised to come, by

" letter fent to his house, subscribed by Mr. James Re

" wick, who is Clerk to the Convention, and heard no Ministers being among them, at either of the

" times; and fays, there were people there from all

"districts, in the several shires of the kingdom, what districts he was informed were fourscore, and that

p. 151.

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them all, there would have been 6 or 7000 men; 1683. and that he knew none of the persons in either of their meetings, except Mr. James Renwick the Clerk, the faid John Nisbet, who came from a district beside Galloway, and William and James Stuart, who came out of Galloway, Robert Speier, who came from the Lotbians, and one Forrest, who came from the Upperward of Cluyd; and that at these general-meetings, they produced their commissions from the feveral districts to the Clerk, that it might appear, that they were commissionate to get relief for the distrest in their bounds; that the business of the Convention, was to provide for those among them, that were in want, and for their own fecurity against the dangers they were in, being denounced fugitives from the laws, and in hazard to be catched by the Governors: and that he heard nothing treated of, or spoke amongst them, as to rifing in arms, nor knows of any correfpondence these of the Convention had with any in Ireland; and as to England, he supposes there was a correspondence there; but knows not those that managed it, except the faid John Nisbet, he having shewn the declarant a letter he had from Michael Sheills, one of the Clerks of the Convention, which he faw in the end of March or beginning of April last,—that he accepted the commission, to see, if there could be a way found, for the distrest brethren to go abroad, or to have fomething from abroad to maintain them there, — that the commission was fent him to Newcastle by a common receiver, whom he knows not, directed to him at his lodging, at the fign of the vine in the Gatefide in Newcastle, his Landlord's name being George Marshal a publick innkeeper, and addressed to him under the name of la Graveil," &c. As to the letter from I. N. he exained all the parts of it they required, as the reader ay see in the copies of informations by Sprat; and no ther could appear from his declaration, than that there d been conferences, among those who wished well their country, about the most proper methods for reuing it from approaching slavery, and consultations

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1683. about rifing in arms; but nothing of affaffinating e the King or the DUKE. To use the words of a mod Neal, vol. historian, "There was nothing more in it, than the iv. p. 517. and imprudent discourse of some warm Whigs, which fo critical and dangerous a conjuncture, was very zardous; but no scheme of a plot was agreed upon. preparations were made, no arms nor horses bought, persons appointed to execute any design against the K

reprieved from lime to time.

or government."

Notwithstanding Earlstoun had been most open; full in his declarations, yet, in less than two mon after this, he was, in consequence of a new letter in the King, ordered to be put to the torture; but, a am affured by his fon, when they were going to him in the boots, he turned furious, and frighted whole court; and that this and the interest of the Di of Gordon, who was his firm friend, were the occasion of his life being preserved. The Physicians advis that he might be fent to the Castle for the benefit of He perfectly recovered in eight or ten days, short, this worthy Gentleman was reprieved from in to time, and was at last sent to the Bass, where held fometimes more, and fometimes less liberty, with his cellent Lady, till he was released by the revolution. Some time in September, Mr. James Renwick (p.11

Mr. Renwick returned to Scotland.

returned to Scotland. After his ordination, he went all expedition to Rotterdam, to take the first opportu See bis life ty of a ship. It was some time before he found a com 2. 30. &c. niency. At last, he got aboard a vessel bound for l While at fea, they were overtaken with a fton and forced to put in at Rye-harbour in England, will happened during the noise of the plot; but getting he arrived at Dublin, and from thence failed to Scotla where he joined the focieties, who chose him for their

2. 34, &c. nifter. His first publick meeting was in a moss at Darma where, for his own vindication, and the fatisfaction the people, he declared all his fentiments about theth puzzling questions, particularly concerning the del tions of Ministers, and shewed what Ministers he wol and what he would not join with; and as he named latter, he gave his reasons why he could not join w m. Some present were offended at his naming some is is not been so particular, in mentioning names, to it had given offence; but he declared his end was mless, and that it flowed from no prejudice at their sons, nor disrespect to their names. After this, he exposed to many slanders and reproaches, too nurous here to mention. And many sought to defame principles, as not only unsound, but also pernicious; I am forry to have it to say, that none reproached more, than the indulged of his own communion. In the mean time, by the noise that went of him Laird of ough the country, the Council soon got intelligence, Dundass were galled at the thoughts of his preaching in the sined.

l were galled at the thoughts of his preaching in the fined.

It; which practice had been laid aside, since Mr.

It; which practice had been laid aside, since Mr.

It; which practice had been laid aside, since Mr.

It; which practice had been laid aside, since Mr.

It; which practice had been laid aside, since Mr.

It; which practice had been laid aside, since Mr.

It will be execution; but was now revived by Mr. Ren
It, notwithstanding the inevitable danger to which it osed both him and his followers. But considering the efficies of the people, who had been long without or
ances, and could not submit to the indulged, he engag
In the difficult work, and was heartily received by the or persecuted people, who, for the sake of the Gospel, the determined to venture their lives. The Council in began to shew their resentment; for on the 8th of the object, they fined the Laird of Dundass and the trades shallow in 50l. sterl. each (vol. I. p. 391) because of the eld-meeting which Mr. Renwick had preached to, and tized several children at Brownridge belonging to

ndass's estate, and in the parish of New-Monkland,

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onging to the trades of Glasgow.

The same day Mr. Thomas Hog, and Mr. Thomas Mr. T.

White (p. 29) were fined for Conventicles, the first in Hog, &c.

100, and the second in 10000 merks. The former

In after went to Holland, and the latter seems to have

In Minister of the Cannong ate after the revolution.

Some time in this same month, James Forrest in the Sufferings is of Cambusnethan, his son and his nephew Robert of J. For-

rlay, were banished to West-Flanders. But return-rest., he, his son and daughter Margaret Forrest, were ed and banished, she to Jersey, and they to Jamaica, r a long imprisonment. The prisons, especially at Edinburgh,

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1683. Edinburgh, were crouded, and many of the prison were transported to the plantations for their noncome mity, and alledged resett and converse. One William glis a mason, was taken out of his bed, upon a bare formation of his being a Nonconformist; and after long imprisonment, was fent to Carolina, where died.

George Tackton,

But the treatment of George Jackson, in the parish Eastwood, shews the inhuman and bloody spirit of the prelates as much as any. While at Glasgow, he overheard at prayer, and immediately suspected for Presbyterian, and so was seized some time in this mon of October. There was nothing they could lay to charge. He was foon brought before the Bishop Glasgow, who examined him as follows.

bis examination. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 308, &c.

" Question, What now Master Jackson? Answer. " was never a scholar. Q. Can you read the bible " A. Yes. Q. Was ye at Bothwel-bridge? A. Ye " 2. What arms had ye? A. An halbert-staff. 2. W " ye an officer? A. No, I was but fixteen years

" age. Q. Who was your captain? A. A young ma " 2. How called they him? A. I am not bound " give an account to you. Q. Was you at Bothu

" rebellion? A. I allow myself in no rebellion again "God. Q. Was it rebellion against the King or no

" A. I have answered that question already. Q. Won " ye go to it again? A. The question is like your

"I know not. Q. Will you fay, God fave the King "A. It is not in my power to fave or conden

" 2. Will ye pray for him? A. I will pray for " within the election of free grace. Q. Whether ist

"King within the election or not? A. If you were " man you profess to be, you would not ask such

"question; it belongs only to God. 2. Do you own the authority, as it is now established? A.N.

" but I own all authority, fo far as it is according

" the written word of God. Q. Do you own the Ki " and inferior Magistrates? A. In so far as they at

terror to evil doors, and a praise to them that " well. Q. Are they not that? A. When the La

" Jesus Christ shall sit judge, they and ye,

the like of you, will count for it, whether they be so 1683. or not. Q. Is the Bishop's death murther or not?

A. If your questions be upon these matters I am not concerned with, I will keep silence." He was then exnined concerning some papers sound about him, but dening to answer, the Right Revd. Prelate mildly said, to the Boots shall make you free. He refused to subside what he had said, because he looked upon that, as acknowledgment of their unjust laws. In short, he as kept in irons all winter till the month of May, when the shall meet with him again.

In the beginning of Nov. a party apprehended about Cruelty persons in the parish of New-Monkland, and carried to priem to Hamilton, where they were increased to 30, and foners. om thence carried rhem to Lanerk in the night-time, and ft them into a dungeon, where they were forced to and the rest of the night, without meat, drink, fire or ndle. Next day, they were tied to one another, two d two, fet on bare horses, with their legs tied under e horses belly, to the effusion of their blood. In that offure, they were obliged to ride at the gallop for funy miles, without being allowed a refreshment, tho' mshaw and his foldiers stopt at most of the publick uses on the road. One of the poor prisoners begged we to light and eafe nature, but the cruel commander ould not fuffer it. When they got to Edinburgh, ey were, for fome days, neither able to walk, fit, nor

During these proceedings, things were preparing for Cesnock, etrial of several in Scotland, who were said to be condered to be med in the plot. Accordingly, on the 22d of Osto-tried for the Scots Council at London, ordered the Laird of the plot. snock and his son, Rowallan elder and younger, Crawdland, Brunssield, Alex. Munro of Beaucrosts, Fervisted, Mr. William Carstairs, Hepburn son to Major epburn, Spence servant to the Earl of Argyle, prisoners London, to be sent to take their trial in Scotland; and, a letter from the King, the Advocate was ordered to osecute them for treason. They were sent down actingly.

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Sir W. Scot of Harden. Mean while, cruelty and injustice were riding in the umph in Scotland; for on the 15th of November, Sir William Scot of Harden, a Gentleman near 70 years of age was fined in 1500 l. Iterl. for his Lady's withdrawing from the church. And because his confinement in profon at Edinburgh for near six months, was like to de stroy his health, the Council, out of their great cle mency, ordered him to the castle. He was afterward sent to the jail of Jedburgh, and from thence to that a Edinburgh. He was released, it seems, in August next year, upon Sir Patrick Scot of Ancrum's bail, for 1500 sterl, to present him the Tuesday following; but none of them appearing that day, the bond was declared for feited.

Three countrymen exexcuted.

On the 28th, three countrymen, John Whitelaw i New-Monkland in the shire of Lanerk, Arthur Bruce Dalferf, and John Cochran shoemaker in Lesmahaga were indicted before the Lords of Justiciary at Edin They had nothing to lay to the burgh for treason. charge, but the answers they gave to their enfname questions, as in many former cases; and yet they wer condemned to be executed on the 30th. They were persons, from whom the government had nothing to fear; and nothing can be faid, but that the manager The last mentioned had a wit thirsted after blood. and fix small children, whom he left to the protection of the Almighty, as he declared in his last testimon They all died with a holy chearfulness, adhering to the covenanted principles, and bearing witness against P pery, Prelacy and the test, and every thing else contrar to the written word of God.

Protestation against the Scots congregation at Rotterdam.

Infor. Vind. p. The same day, these three countrymen were condemned, the general meeting of the united societies dre up a protestation against the Scots Congregation, M nisters and Church Session at Rotterdam, and sent it over to Mr. Hamilton their Agent. This action was ver much condemned, and in their informatory vindication they don't justify some expressions in it, though they ow they had matter for a protestation. Thus they conclude "Considering that the causes inserted, materially considered, and rightly applied, are both true and sufficient dered, and rightly applied, are both true and sufficient dered."

cient for a protestation; we defire that it may be 1683. looked upon as a standing testimony (together with what contendings have formerly been by some faithwhat contendings have formerly been by some faith-ful Scottish sufferers in that land) for the vindication of truth, and against the sad wrongs and abuses in that congregation, ay, and while the causes inserted " are maintained, and the offence and scandal given "not removed. Yea, in very deed, a deep fenfe, in the mean time, of the fins witnessed against by the " foresaid protestation, would make all, therein involved, more favourably and charitably to construct of " the action."

On the 29th, Commissions were given to fundry Commis-Gentlemen in several shires in the South and East, to sions. attack heritors, who had not given fatisfaction with re-

spect to their converse with rebels.

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During the months of Ottober and November, fearches Searches. were common and fevere, especially in Glasgow. All frangers, who did not answer their ensnaring questions, were carried either to the guard or prison. Multitudes were thus apprehended and fent to Edinburgh. night they carched John Richmond, as he was walking in the streets, John Dick, and John Williamson. The first was carried to the guard, and most cruelly tied neck and heel, and left in that posture bleeding of the wounds which he had received in making some resistance when taken. He was executed, as we shall relate. The second was banished to Carolina, and the third made some compliances, of which he afterwards repented. One John Main was also seized at this time in arms, and was likewise executed.

On the 6th of December, one Margaret Garnock, af- M. Garter about a year's imprisonment for pretended converse nock.

with rebels, was released.

Next day, Lord Living stone was appointed by the Town of Council, Provost of Linlithgow, in regard the former Linlith-Magistrates did not exercise their authority against gow dechurch disorders; so that this town was deprived of its its priviprivileges; for they were not suffered to chuse their Ma-leges. gistrates themselves, but were obliged not only now,

Kk 2

but

Vol. 1683. but also in the following infamous reign, to submit w the nomination of the Council.

> As the process against several Gentlemen and other at this time before the Justiciary came to nothing, purposely wave them. About 20 who were summons to appear on the 10th, and not appearing, were de clared fugitives, and put to the horn.

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Gentlemen imprisoned.

On the 19th, a number of Gentlemen were impi foned for the same cause with those in July (p. 236, 237 fome of them, it feems, were Papists, who were folio nest as to refuse the test; but as I cannot distingui the one from the other, I omit their names. However the Papists had little to fear under the present admin stration, fince the reins of government were in the hands of their friend the Duke of York. These wer ordered to the prison of Edinburgh with Sir John Ridde John Maxwel of Gribtoun, Ro. Carlifle, James Lindle Fames Hume brother to Bassinden, Hugh Dunbar of Know Shinnoch, and Rob. Nisbet of Greenholm.

Act of the Magi-Arates of Edinburgh.

The fame day, about 30 persons, mostly tradesme and country people, were declared fugitives, and fe veral others denounced; and the Magistrates of Elin burgh, to shew their zeal for Prelacy, made an a against Conventicles, by which they offered fixty pound Scots to the discoverer of any Conventicle, unlawful bap tism or marriage, or the entertainer of any intercommun or vagrant person, and twelve pounds Scots to such should discover any person, that kept not the Church.

Buchannan.

Some time this month of December, another gener fearch was made at Glasgow, when John Buchannan young student, was taken, and, after some time's in prisonment, was transported to Carolina.

Sufferings of James Dun.

James Dun in Beauwhat in the parish of Dalmelling ton, a pious man, suffered much in his family at the time. He had four fons, one was killed, another wa banished, and his youngest son Quintin, not quite i years of age, was apprehended and imprisoned at Air Nothing was laid to his charge. His father was force to pay 2401. Scots, before he could get him released This was more than they could have got for him, he they fold him for a flave, as they afterwards did. CHAR

## CHAP. X.

the persecution this year in general; the proceedings of the Council, and Justiciary; the sufferings of particular Noblemen, Gentlemen and others; together with the publik executions, till the end of August, 1684.

one kind of oppression making way for another, appears from the preceding part of this work; but year and the following open a more bloody scene, n any before, being what the oppressed people justly ed killing time.

The Courts held by commission in the former years, Severities reased their illegal severities in this; for when they of courts. nothing to accuse persons of since Bothwel, they at as far back as Pentland. The sines were exorbitant, the Curates egg'd on the oppressors. At one of se Courts held at Kirkcudbright, Mr. Colin Dalgleish Curate, made almost the whole parish to be summed, and excused or accused whom he pleased. ticularly through his instigation, James Martin of J. Martin larg was fined in a thousand pounds Scots for his died in prison. It is not keeping the Church, and cast into prison till paid it; but, through bad usage and want of accombation, he was seized with a cholick, of which he

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the test was imposed with rigour, at these courts, upon Imposition whom they suspected, and the recusants imprisoned. of the test is made several take it contrary to their conscience, in afterwards filled them with dreadful remorse. William Spaldie a taylor in Glasgow died in despair, this very account; for when they spoke to him of extensiveness of the divine mercy, his answer was, as not of mercy to me, I have appealed unto God

attested bim to judge me, and he will do it. I have and signed my condemnation with my own hand. But

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1684. I purposely omit other instances, which the reader I find in my author.

Sufferings

of the cess.

The quartering of foldiers for not paying the a on account was another occasion of great oppression. The real why many refused to pay this, have been mentions vol. I. p. 463, 464. Soldiers were fent to the recular and quartered upon them, till ten times the value the cess was destroyed; and, after all, a composition forced to be made with the collectors. Seven cows we taken from one Gavin Maclymont in the parish of a phairn, upon his refusal, after the loss he sustained quartering, though he was not charged above the val of 9 pounds Scots, or 15 shillings sterl. Multitudes were banished, many of whom never

Many banifbed.

J. Gate.

turned. I shall have occasion to mention several of the afterwards in their proper place. Only here I would ferve, that one John Gate was committed to prison Glasgow, for modestly declining to drink the King health; his wife was imprisoned in a different room the fame jail, where she fell sick; and though she with child, could not get out, till a furgeon gave at tificate, that her life was in danger: but when the released, she was not suffered to go with her eightd dren to her own house; and the people being terrif by the dreadful profecutions for refett and conver would not take her in; fo that she was obliged to it the streets, till the Lady Ardry, notwithstanding hazard she ran, gave her the conveniency of her br house, where three of her children died. Her husb continued feveral months in irons, and was, at l transported to America, where he died. She surviv her troubles, and was alive when my author wrote history. George Russel in the parish of Camnethan, first imprisoned, and then sent abroad to the am where he died, for the great crime of having a child tized at a Conventicle, some years before.

J. Smith murdered.

This year the most inhuman practice of killing in cent people, in cold blood in the fields, began to used, and publick authority was given for it, as well relate in its proper place; but before any legal author could be pretended, it was put in practice. According one John Smith was returning from some meeting, he 1684.

as taken ill, and sat down in the fields. A party of solers coming that way, without any process or ceremony, of him where they found him.

The prisons were crouded, and many died there, par-Many died ularly George Shiels, Thomas Scot in Bounchester, John in prison. Illa in Kelso, and Thomas Turnbull in Ancrum. But I all now relate the most remarkable transactions of this

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As fines were one of the fore oppressions the country King's letoaned under, so the most of these was squandered by ter about e exactors, and a small part of them was accounted fines.

r. But on the 3d of January, a letter from the King as read in Council, and recorded, wherein his Majesty quired them, to call Judges and Magistrates to an count, for what fines they had received, and to purthose heritors, who were fined and had not yet paid em, as they should see proper. A Committee was apinted to take this matter under confideration, and reed, that the Heritors who had not paid their fines, ould be charged to do it in fifteen days; and that fuch them as applied for a mitigation, should be heard bete the Council. Whether the Council examined the agistrates,  $\mathcal{C}_c$  as to the way the fines were disposed is not on record, further than that it appeared, that e Magistrates of Edinburgh had received 8349 l. 12 s. ots and were allowed 2001. Sterl. for their charges, hich was a tolerable good allowance, and would be ry encouraging to other Magistrates, in their severe actions.

On the faid 3d of January, Mr. John Campbel in-Mr. Iged Minister at Sorn, and Mr. James Veitch at Mauch-Campbel, were deprived of their licence, and ordered to find the total text to leave the kingdom by the first of March, or to excise no part of their ministry, because they had eached in private families, and had not read the promation for the thanks giving. Mr. Veitch went to Hold, where he continued till the toleration. The same y, one John Miller of Watershaugh was released, upon wing bond under the penalty of 5000l. sterl. to apar when called. He had been nine months in prison,

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1684. upon mere fuspicion of correspondence with rebels,

Justiciary commissions.

The fame day, a new commission was granted to Provost of Glasgow, and others for the shire of La or Dumbarton, and to the Sheriff-depute of Dum and others, for Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtoun Annandale, for judging those who were, or should apprehended, for being in the late rebellion, or for it fying the same, or disowning the King's authority. like commission was afterwards granted for Renfrey Airsbire. If prisoners were filent, as to the questi proposed to them, the Commissioners were directed delay proceeding against them, to administer the ut fuch of them as defired it, and to acquaint the Com with their case, but to execute justice upon the gui The fame orders were repeated to the Justices of D fries, with this alteration, that when such prison against whom there is no proof, refused to answer, t were to be fent to Edinburgh. In short, these Com fioners were afterwards impowered to act against the who were without the bounds of their commission shall only add here, that the Laird of Meldrum likewise a commission for trying rebels in Laneral We shall hear of several condemned at Glasgow, in fequence of these commissions.

Mr. Schaw.

Mean while, on the 7th of January, Mr. And Schaw indulged Minister at Newmills was indicted by the Justiciary at Edinburgh, for preaching at a h conventicle. The case was this: When affisting the dulged Minister at Colmonel, at the Lord's-supper, number of people was greater than the church of contain, so that Mr. Schaw preached in a tent in church-yard, a thing very common in Scotland. this, this good man was tried for his life. However, process was dropt, on condition of his appearing to the Council on the 10th, He appeared, his indus was taken from him, and his church declared va and he was not released, till bail was found, that should no more exercise any part of his ministry. indeed fuch attacks as these were made on all in dulged. What then must have been the case of other

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I have had occasion, to relate the case of husbands be- 1684. fined for their wives nonconformity (p. 205, 206) d of the exorbitant fine imposed on Sir Will. Scot of Councils rden (p. 250) who, on the 22d, presented a petition to about bus-Council, defiring fome enlargement in prison, where bands bewas confined for the extravagant fum imposed upon ing liable m. The Council, on the 23d, wrote to the King, for for their approbation of what they had done, in fining hufnds for their wives, and defiring his Majesty would power them to dispence with the fines of loyal busids, who were no ways to be suspected of connivance with ir obstinate wives, but were content to deliver them up to ounished. The King granted their request and apwed of what they had done.

There had, for some time, according to Bishop Bur- Bishop , been a breach between the Earls of Aberdeen and Burnet's censberry, who were of different sentiments with re-account of At to this point, of fining the husbands for their wives 582. going to church. " Lord Aberdeen, says that historian, od upon this, that the act did not mention the wives. did indeed make the husbands liable to a fine, if their res went to Conventicles; for they had it in their power

restrain them: and fince the law provided in the one t, that the husband should suffer for his wife's fault. had made no provision in the other case, as to their ng to church, he thought, the fining them, on that ount, could not be legally done. Lord Queensberry for every thing, that would bring money into the

ny years, withdrawn from the churches, he reckoned, fetting fines on their husbands, to the rigour, would ke all the estates of the country be at mercy.—

sury: so, since in those parts, the Ladies had, for

e Earl of Perth struck in with this, and set it up for haxim, that the Presbyterians could not be governed with the extremity of rigour, and that they were ironcileable enemies to the King and the Duke, and refore ought to be extirpated. The Ministry being s divided, they referred the decision to the King. And d Perth went up to have his resolution. The King

ermined against the Ladies, which was thought very ecent; for in dubious cases, the nobleness of a Prince's VOL. II.

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1684, temper should always turn him to the merciful se This was the less expected from him, who had, all life time, expressed as great a neglect of womens or sciences, as esteem for their persons."

Perth made Chancellor.

583.

But he was determined to it by the Duke, who, in the breaking out of the plot, had got the whole manage ment of affairs --- into his hands. Scotland was entirely in his dependance, that the King would feld ask, what the papers imported, which the Duke broug to be figned by him. - The breach grew fo wide tween Aberdeen and Queensberry, that both were all up to give an account of it. It ended in dismissing La Aberdeen and making Lord Perth Chancellor; to which

cent manner. He faw into the Duke's temper, that fpirit was turned to an unrelenting feverity; for this appeared very indecently in Scotland.

fays Burnet, he had been long aspiring in a most in

Duke of York's cruelty. Ibid.

When any are to be struck in the boots, it is done the presence of the Council; and upon that occasion, most all offer to run away. The fight is so dre ful, that, without an order restraining such a number stay, the board would be forfaken. But when t DUKE was in Scotland, he was so far from withdra ing, that he looked on all the while with an unmor indifference, and with an attention, as if he had be to look on some curious experiment. This gave a to rible idea of him, to all that observed it, as of am that had no bowels nor humanity in him. Lord Pa observing this, resolved to let him see, how well que fied he was to be an Inquisitor-general; for, as int Court of Inquifition, they do, upon suspicion, or man refules to answer upon oath, give him the tortu and repeat it and vary it, as often as they think fit, a don't give over, till they get out of their mangled foners what they have a mind to know; fo Lord Pa resolved to make this his pattern.

While Lord Perth was at London, Bishop Leigh died at the Bell-inn in Warwick-lane, after he had in ten years in Suffex in great privacy, dividing his wholly, between fludy and retirement. He was tainly the best of all the Scots Bishops, and no per

Leighton's death. Burnet. p. 588, 589,

1684.

n have a better character than what Bishop Burnet ves him, who, among other things, fays, that he was, his last years, turned to a greater severity against Pory, than he imagined, a man of his temper and of his geness in point of opinion was capable of. 1 speaking of Leighton's death, I shall add, that Bur-Archbishop of St. Andrews died some time this year, whom fee vol. I. and was fucceeded by Mr. Arthur of Archbishop of Glasgow. The Bishop of Sarum says, at he was a poor, ignorant, worthless man, but in nom obedience and fury were fo eminent, that these pplied all other defects. But to return,

On the 30th of January, Mr. William Ecles indulged Mr. linister at Paisley, Mr. Robert Elliot at Lintoun, were &ccles, prived of their licence, and ordered to find bail either to preach, or leave the kingdom. They had broke eir confinement, i. e. preached in other places, besides eir own parishes, and had not preached every 29th of lay. Mr. Thomas Black indulged Minister at Newtyle, ing fummoned, and not appearing, was declared

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On the 12th of February, Mr. Ezekiel Montgomery was Sir Hugh dered to be imprisoned for some pieces of misconduct Campbell his office. The same day, the Council ordered the Ad- of Cescate to profecute Sir Hugh Campbel of Casnock for trea-nock orn; but least Sir Hugh should have the benefit of Sir be projetorge Lockhart, appointed that able lawyer to affift the cuted. ing's Advocate in the profecution. However, Sir ugh was permitted to have what other Lawyers he had mind.

On the 18th, George Martin, some time Notar and George eader in Dallay in the shire of Air, John Ker in How-Martin, m, and James Muir at Cessford-boat, were indicted &c. confore the Justiciary at Edinburgh for treason, and their demned. infession, or their answers to the usual questions, were oduced as evidence against them. They confessed ey did not own the King's authority, as then estashed, nor account Bothwell rebellion, nor Sharp's death urder, &c. They were condemned to be hanged at e Grass-market of Edinburgh on the 22d. The Cloud Witnesses speaks only of George Martin and of one

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John Gilry in the parish of Hownan in Tiviotdale, wh my author thinks, was the same with John Ker, me tioned in the registers, and says, he had two letter figned John Gilry, from the Iron-bouse, the 27th of ] cember, 1683, which breathe a spirit of humility, & diffidence and meekness. They all died with mu composure, and joy in the Lord; and it cannot but a constant reproach on the managers at this time, that many pious persons, whom God owned so signally their death, were butchered and led to the flaughterfi their principles, and because they could not, over belly of conscience, express their loyalty and approb tion of the wicked rulers, who had overturned the four dation of all legal government, and deprived the fit jects of their religion and liberty.

Why he could not Say, God Save the King, Cl. of Wit.

George Martin had endured a long train of fuffering with great patience. He was apprehended about t end of the year 1679, so that he had been confined near four years and four months, and, for a confideral part of that time, been in irons night and day with fire and other necessaries. In his last testimony, he gin the reasons of his conduct, and, concerning prayu God fave the King, fays, among other things, "An "ther reason, why I cannot pray after such a mann " is, I find, when prayers are rightly discharged " feriously gone about, in the manner, time and plan " as is warranted by the Word of God, God is there " worshipped and honoured, but if irreverently go so about, he is dishonoured, and his name profant " and taken in vain, which is abomination to him, a and which he fays his enemies do, and for which " will not hold them guiltless. I dare not pray! " because all the profane and profligate persons have " always in their mouth, especially when they a "drunk."— He concludes his testimony with ma ferious and pertinent advices, which I cannot be

Mr. Ha-Raith's case.

On the 21st, the Council wrote to the Secretary, milton of favour of Mr. Thomas Hamilton of Raith, who had, June last, been forfeited in life and fortune, for alledge accession to Bathwel. In their letter, tho' they owned loyalt

alty, and that there were many favourable circum- 1684. nces in his case, yet they asked for a pardon only h respect to bis life, which was granted; but his te, goods and chattels continued under forfeiture, ugh they could have nothing against him, as acting trary to their laws. I shall leave the reader to make own reflections.

on the 4th of March, James Forrest younger, (p. James ) John Colin, Joseph Gourlay, Dennis Gilcreof, Tho. Forrest, Geo. Fackson were banished by the Committee for &c. balick affairs, to West-Flanders, never to return on pain leath. In their testimony, they vindicated themes from the imputation of disloyalty and rebellion, left their testimony for the Scriptures, confession and enants against Popery, Prelacy, &c. and particuy, John Colin gives the reason, why he could not say fave the King; because when he defired the Comtee to explain the meaning of the words, he was told, they imported an owning of his person and governnt, and the laws and present acting, which, said he, sped me much, and I think no serious Christian would rove those.

About the beginning of March, Mr. Dick (p. 241) Mr. Dick again apprehended and brought before the Council, ordered for execution. , upon his refusing to give an account of the manof his escape, was referred to the Justiciary, who on 4th ordered him to be executed next day, which was

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he wrote several pious letters to his friends before his His letter cution. In that to his father, he gives a most te his fated account of the Lord's first effectual dealing with foul, and concludes with these words, "I hope, e'er ong, the copstone shall be put on, the result of which shall be praises and shouting, to him that sits pon the throne and to the Lamb, throughout all the ges of eternity, of long lafting eternity. This, with ny earnest prayers while in the body, that the Lord vould help you to mind his glory, and your own oul's eternal welfare, is all the legacy you can expect rom him, who is both your affectionate fon and Christ's prisoner.

66 P. S.

1684.

" of you. Let none see this, till I be in my gr "The Lord gave me to you freely, fo I ent vou be frank in giving me to him again; " the more free this be, the less cause you " have to repent."

His laft words on the fcaffold.

His last words on the scaffold were these, "I " come here this day, and would not change my " with the greatest in the world. I lay down my

" willingly and chearfully for Christ and his cause, "I heartily forgive all mine enemies. I forgive all the

" who gave me my fentence, and them who were

cutioner.

+ the exe- " chief cause of my taking; and I forgive + him " is behind me. I advise you, who are the Lor

" people, to be fincere in the way of Godlines, " you, who know little or nothing of the power the

of, to come to him, and trust God, he will not di opoint you; I fay, trust in the Lord, and he will see

of port and strengthen whatever trouble or affich

" you may meet with. I remember, when Abrah was about to facrifice his fon, Isaac faid, Hereist

wood and the fire, but where is facrifice? Now, b

fed be the Lord, here is the sacrifice and free-wi

Adieu, farewell all friends."

On the same 5th of March, Henry Hall of Haugh deceased (p. 83, 84) Mr. John Menzies of Winterch or Hanging haw, — of Calderhead, — young of Windyedge, Henry Boswell portioner of Dunsyla Robert Steil portioner of Stain, and John Mack por oner of Hinselwood, were indicted before the Justin in absence, and found guilty, and forfeited, and we all, except H. Hall, ordered to be executed when Perhaps it was peculiar to this period, prehended. try persons who had been dead for several years.

On the 13th, the case of several Gentlemen in M frewshire, who had had been fined most unjustly by Sheriff-depute for Church-irregularities, came to be a This was the case of James Pollock of Balgi James Hamilton of Langtoun, Mathew Stuart portion of Newtoun, and John Pollock of Fawfide. The Coun reduced the fines of the two first, and acknowledged

Henry Hall, &c. forfeited.

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VOL.

p. 9. CHURCH of SCOTLAND. iftice done to the two last. I must refer the reader 1684. the particulars to my author. On the 19th, five excellent and serious Christians were Five executed at the Cross of Glasgow, viz. John Richmond in cuted, parish of Ganston, James Winning taylor in Glashe parish of Calder, and John Main in that of Oldmkland. John Richmond was apprehended last year, 251. James Winning, being informed against last ruary, was called out of bed, to appear before one the magistrates of Glasgow, and, not giving satisfying wers concerning Bothwel and the Bishop's death, was nmitted to prison and prosecuted with the rest. These five persons were tried before the military Jus- without ary at Glasgow on the 17th, as I may call them. any legal eir Judges were Lieutenant-Colonel Windram, Sir W. proof. ming, Sir J. Turner, Lieutenant-Colonel, Buchan, J. merwell of Spittle Sheriff-depute of Lanerk, W. Stirand John Jones. The prisoners were indicted for ng at Bothwel, resett and converse. Many witnesses teared, but none fwore any thing, that could touch ir life, even according to the laws then in force. One ness swore, that he saw John Richmond in arms at rs-moss. The preses asked him, how far distant he s from the prisoner; he answered, about half a mile;

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mess swore, that he saw John Richmond in arms at rs-moss. The preses asked him, how far distant he sfrom the prisoner; he answered, about half a mile; dyet this was sustained as good evidence! In short, ough there was no proof against any of them, they re all condemned to be executed on the 19th. The in thing, for which this unjust sentence was past, was, cause they were silent as to the King's authority, King arles the First's death, and that of the Archbishop. The intering to the Covenants and work of reformation, and disying against all encroachments made upon the own and dignity of the Lord Jesus.

The last testimonies of John Main and John Rich-Their temnd are in the Cloud of Witnesses. The former says, per and
the none of the articles of his indictment could be made
minal, such as his escaping out of prison, his being
Bothwel only as a spectator, his conversing with
win Wetherspoon, his resusing to call Bothwel rebellion,

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Vol. 1684. his owning the COVENANTS, his not answering the tions about the King's authority, his not afferting, the death of the late King, or of the Archbishop, murder; and therefore he concludes, that he and his low fufferers were mudered, only for the fatisfaction men, who were worse than heathens.

Arch. Stuart,

Among other moving expressions, Archbald Sin had at his execution, he faid, "I die not by confirm " I am more willing to die for my lovely Lord le "Christ and his truths, than ever I was to live; " my foul bleffeth the Lord, that ever he did accept " a testimony from the like of me. Scar not at

" way of Christ, because of sufferings. If ye kn " what of his love I have got, fince I was honour

" with imprisonment for him, and what sweet ing "dients he hath put into my cup, ye would not

" afraid of fuffering. He hath paved the cross all of

" with love," &c.

bis letter to an acquaintance.

The letter that Archbald Stuart wrote to an acquain ance, shews the disposition of his mind, in which fays, "Now, my loving friend, I am going to my! "ther's house, to reap the fruit of all these walk " nights that you and I had together, when none kn " of it but ourselves and our Heavenly Father; an "die in the hope of it, we shall come to your Fat and my Father, to your God and my God, to yo " Redeemer and my Redeemer. Now all ish " and well with me, I am brought near unto G " through the blood of his Son Jesus Christ; an " have no more to do, but to lay down this life " mine, that he hath given me, and take up house? " habitation with my lovely Lord and Master Je " Christ," &c. He concludes with many excellent vices which I have not room to infert. He was but youth of 19 years of age. James Winning and Ja Johnstoun spoke much to the same purpose. The po reader will form a judgment, from the short hints, of spirit and temper of these suffering martyrs, who died with a most forgiving spirit, praying for forg ness to their persecutors, though, at the same time, furing them, that if they did not repent, their blo ould be required at their hand. At the execution of 1684. fe men, Gavin Black in Monkland was seized by the diers and imprisoned, because they discovered some cens of grief; and not fatisfying their enquiries, was, th others, banished to Carolina. And at their burial, elation of theirs James Nisbet was apprehended, and afwards executed, as we shall relate in its proper place. On the 24th of March, the trial of Sir Hugh Campbel Sir Hugh Cesnock, came on before the Justiciary at Edinburgh. Campbel s indictment was read, fetting forth, " That Sir Hugh of Cefhaving, in June 1679, met with Daniel Crawford in diement, Galftoun, Thomas Ingrham in Borelands, John Fergusson in Catharingill, and several other of the rebels, at or near the bridge-end of Galstoun, asked them, where they had been; and when they told him, that they had been with the Westland-army, he said, that he had feen more going to them than coming from them: And having asked them, if they were to reurn; they told him, they knew not. Whereupon. he treasonably said, that he liked not runaways, and they should get help, if they would bide by it; and bade them take courage, or some such like words, to that purpose, wherethrough the said Sir Hugh Campbel is guilty of intercommuning with notour rebels, and of giving a treasonable council and advice to go back, and return to the rebellious army, and thereby was guilty of the faid rebellion, which being found by an \* affize, he ought to be punished," &c. As this \* Jury. the only part of the indictment the Advocate infift-

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tried on the plot. The debates, upon the relevancy of this indictment, found renfer the pains of treason, took up till the 26th. Cef- levant. s Advocates offered to prove, that on the day these sons past the bridge of Galstoun, he was alibi elseere, viz. at his own house at Cesnock; that the indictnt bears, that the defendant only met with them by way, and that the simple meeting of persons on the hway, which was only accidental, and the afking m whence they came, and whither they were going, not infer intercommuning. They further infilted; OL. II.

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upon, there is no occasion to insert the rest. He was

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1684. that the words alledged to be spoken, do not impo counsel and advice to go back to the rebels, and words and expressions can never infer a crime, farl the crime of treason, unless they clearly, directly and fitively inferred the crime, especially certain sentencesa speeches, which have been gathered up five years and the same were pretended to have been spoken, in a tra fient way. In short, though the expressions should constructed as treasonable, yet, as they were prior tot King's act of indemnity, the defendant cannot be no called in question for them. These, and many on things, were pleaded in behalf of the prisoner; and on the 26th, the Lords, by a plurality of voices, four the indictment relevant.

Witneffes

On the 27th, the Jury was called and fworn, a examined the Advocate produced Thomas Ingrham and Da Crawford as evidences for the crown. Several thin were objected against these witnesses, which occasion a long debate. Among others, that they bore mai to the prisoner, and so could not be admitted, partic larly Ingrham, against whom they undertook to pro that he faid feveral times, that, if there was a way, o of hell, how to be avenged on the prisoner, for delan him as a murderer, he would be revenged; that her forced to be an evidence in this cause, and had receive money, particularly from Hugh Wallace factor to t deceased Lord Craigie. And witnesses were produ who deposed, that Thomas Ingrham had sworn in the hearing and presence a great oath, that he would avenged upon Cesnock, if there was a way out of bell do it. Ingrham's father and mother fwore, that the faw the above-mentioned Wallace give him feveral pin of money, though they could not tell how much; Ingrham himself acknowledged, that Wallace gave h half a crown at one time, and ten shillings at anoth though he knew not upon what defign. But notwi standing all this, the Lords ordered the witnesses to received.

Ingrham's Evidence.

When Ingrham was brought in, and holding w hand to swear, Sir Hugh directed himself to him, faid, "Take heed now what you are about to do, a

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damn not your own foul by perjury; for, as I shall 1684. answer to God, and upon the peril of my own foul, I am here ready to declare, I never faw you in the face before this process, nor spake to you." Then he as folemnly fworn, and deposed, that being in the ouse of - Crawford, Cesnock came to the door, and wing called upon the said Crawford, he asked, what men ofe were who were in his house? Crawford answered, ey were men lately come from the Westland-army. hen Cesnock asked, who commanded there? Crawford swered, one Robert Hamilton. As Ingrham was going n, one of Cesnock's lawyers asked him, whether he had mmunicated this to any other, and told him, that his ul was at stake, as he was under a deep oath; Ingrham nswered, I believe, I have spoke of it to several. The Jusre-general asked, if Cesnock spake any other words to Crawrd. Ingrham answered, My Lord, I am now upon my reat oath, and I declare, I do not remember, he spoke any ore at all. Upon this, there was a great shout and clapping hands in Court, which so irritated the Advocate, that faid, that he believed, Cesnock had hired his friends to ake this acclamation, in order to confound the King's ridence; and that he never heard of such a protestantre, except in the trial of Shaftsbury; that he had alays a kindness for that persuasion till now; that he as convinced in his conscience, it hugs the most damble trinket in nature.

After silence, the Justice-general interrogated In-Firmness tham again, who declared, he had said as much as he of the puld say, upon oath; and offering a third time to Jury. Duestion him, Alex. Nishet of Craigentinny, one of the ary, interposed, declaring, that they would only take of time of Ingrham's first deposition, though he should examined twenty times. The Justice-general antered him with warmth, Sir, you are not judges in this see. The Laird of Drum, another of the Jury, prently replied, Yes, my Lord, we are the only competent diges as to the probation, though not of its relevancy. Whereupon, the whole Jury rose, and adhered to what the had said. Silence being commanded, Crawford, we other witness, was called, and swore, that he did not ecspoock, for a considerable time, either before or after

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fpoke any thing to him, either about the Westland-arm or who commanded them. Upon this, there was anoth shout and clapping of bands, which put the Justice-generand the Advocate in a terrible rage. The Jury brough in their verdict Not guilty. Nevertheless, Cesnock we returned to prison, and, after some months, was sealing with Mr. John Rae to the Bass. He was after wards forfeited, and his estate given to Melsord. In grham and Crawford were a long time detained prisoners, and were ordered to be examined by the Committee for publick affairs. Several, who were concerned in the noise, during Cesnock's trial, were obliged to beg pardon.

Earl of Loudoun, &c. declared fugitives. We have related how the Advocate was ordered a prosecute the Earl of Loudoun, &c. (p. 239.) Accordingly, the Earl on the first, and Lord Melvil on the eighth of April, petitioned the Council, for a competent time to appear before the Justiciary. The Lord postponed the process against them till November, who they were called and declared rebels and fugitives, on a count of their not appearing. They were charged with contriving the death of the King and the Duke, in order to subvert the government; but there was no profor these things. The process against Sir John Cochno of Ochiltree, was delayed till July; but the issue of it, know not.

Mr. W. Erskine.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Will. Erskine (vol. 1. 19397) having been a close prisoner for 7 years in Blade ness Castle and other places, was, by the Council's order allowed to walk round the Castle and take the air, it the company of a keeper. He had been ordered to be set at liberty 1679, but why he was not, is more that I can tell.

Cochran of Waterfide.

On the 9th, John Cochran of Waterside, son to so John Cochran of Ochiltree, was, in absence, tried before the Justiciary; and because two witnesses swore, the they thought they saw him with the rebels, the Justician brought him in guilty, and the Lords condemned him to be executed, when apprehended.

James Howison. Next day, James Howison maltman in Lanerk, wi indicted for being at Bothwel. The witnesses declared

at he was in company with some of the Westland 1684.

my, but without arms. He could not avoid this; for lived on the place; he was brought in guilty, and ntenced to be hanged at the Grass-market on the 12th November next. Whether the sentence was executed, cannot tell.

On the 11th, the Council considering that the pri-Prisoners ns were full, wrote to the King for authority to send to be back of the prisoners to the plantations, who appeared nished. mitent, though they took not the test. This was comied with.

The same day, they agreed to a proposal of the Bishop Two fasts. Edinburgh for two fasts to be observed, the one in the ring, and the other in the harvest. Had never worse ings come thro' the Prelate's hands than this, there had the been so much cause of complaint.

We have had some instances, of the Council's infring-Magig on the freedom of electing Magistrates in Burghs; firates of
cordingly, on this 11th of April, they finding that Air chosen
me of the Magistrates of Air had encouraged the Pres-Council.
terian party, and other irregularities; and that there
d been differences between Provost Brisbane and Rort Hunter and others, in order to stop all heats in that
wn, did declare, that at Michaelmas next, they would
ake choice of Magistrates and Counsellors for the ening year, and discharged the present Magistrates from
aking any election at that time.

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On the 16th, John Paton of Meadow-bead in the pa-John Pann of Finwick, commonly called Captain Paton, was ton exemicted for being with the rebels at Pentland and Both-cuted.

I. He confessed the fact; and being asked, if he med authority, answered, that he owned all authority, owed by the word of God. He was condemned to hanged in the Grass-market on Wednesday the 23d of wil. But being prevailed with to petition the Counhe was respited to the 30th, and from that to Frithe 9th of May, when he suffered according to his tence. Several were inclined to favour him: but he marks in his last speech, which is in the Cloud of Witles, that the Prelates put an effectual stop to that. He s, "I desire to mourn for my giving ear to the

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" counsel of flesh and blood, - though it lays 1684. " blood the closer to their door, and I think the bloo " of my wife and bairns. I think their fupreme M e gistrate is not ignorant of many of their actings " but these Prelates will not be free, when our Go " makes an inquisition for blood." He lamented thed ferences among God's people, and forgave all his en mies, in these words, "Now, as to my persecutors, " forgive all of them; Instigators, Reproachers, Sold " ers, Privy-council, Justiciaries, Apprehenders, in wh they have done to me; but what they have done " despite against the image of God's name in me, wh " am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to fo " give them; but I wish, they may seek forgiveness " him, who hath it to give, and would do no mo " wickedness." Then he left his wife and six small this

Case of &c.

joyments.

On the 17th, the Council took under their consider Rowallan, tion the case of some of the Gentlemen ordered to profecuted in August last (p. 239) against whom the could find no fufficient evidence; and accordingly R wallan elder and younger, were released upon a bond 2000l. sterl. to appear when called, Cesnock elder a younger, Brunsfield, Ferviswood and Crawfordland, h the benefit of free prison; but Mr. Carstairs, Mr. Spen and the just now mentioned Jerviswood, met with pea liar hardships, as shall be related in its proper place.

dren on God, and took his farewel of all created of

Mr. W. Spence.

Thus, on the 22d, Mr. William Spence, who is been Secretary to the Earl of Argyle, was allowed to taken out of the irons, but kept close prisoner. It would feem, he had been in irons, fince he was fent down fro England; and no doubt he fared the worse for the sa of his master.

A Arange method of chufing elders.

The same day, the Ministers of the then establish ment, were empowered, by proclamation, to chuse who they pleased to serve as elders, and affist them ind cipline, and to give in a lift of them to their Ordina for his approbation; and whoever should refuse to fer were to be put to the horn. How far this was ago able to Scripture directory, that none should serve constrain

instraint, but willingly, was not thought of. It was 1684. ficient that it flowed from the supremacy of a gracius King, "whose predecessors and he had always been careful, that the discipline of the church be obferved."

On the 5th of May, Mr. William Wisheart student in Mr. Will. vinity, afterwards Principal of the College of Edin- Wisheart rgb, presented a petition to the Council, bearing, in prison. that having left his studies at Utrecht, to come home and visit his aged and dying parents, upon some mistake he was put in prison, as being one of those who deny his Majesty's authority; whereas, he disowns these principles, and nothing is laid to his charge, craving that he may be liberate." The Council orered him to be released, when once the Advocate was tisfied as to his principles, upon bail to appear when cald; but the Advocate, for some time, neglected to make port, and therefore he continued a confiderable time the iron-house in no small trouble.

The same day, the Council ordered the Fugitive-rolls Fugitive be printed, in order to prevent any from harbour- rolls g those, who were declared fugitives for being in the printed.

bellion, or for reset and converse; but very few of them ould be charged with the first. My Author has printed

e list of these fugitives in his appendix, N. 94. It ontains no less than 1863, among whom are these folwing preachers, viz. Masters Will. Gilchrist, James

Yesh, John Hepburn, James Guthrie, John Forrester, -Lennox, Tho. Wilkie, Tho. Vernor, Geo. Barclay,

obn Rae, Thomas Douglass, — Forrester, amb, Dav. Hume, and John Rae, and a considerable umber of women. It is easy to observe what a state e country was in, when fo many were by name marked

ut for destruction.

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The fame day, on pretence that the Earl of Argyle Proclamaas conferring measures, for raising an insurrection, a tion for oclamation was published, ordering the heads of the the peace ans to have their quotas of men in readiness, to attend Highe new Lieutenants, which were set over Argyleshire lands. d Tarbet, whenever they should call for their assistce. This was the project of the Duke of York, in

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order to weaken the interest of the family of Any 1684. which was still great in these shires, and to encoun those clans, who were generally popish, and so the mo fit for accomplishing the deep intentions of his Rom Highness.

George Jackson before a Committee of the Council.

George Jackson (p. 248, 249) having been kept irons all last winter, was brought to Edinburgh on t 13th of May. Being called before a Committee of the Council, he happened to come with his BIBLE in hand; upon which the Advocate scoffingly in there's bim and bis Bible. Come away, let us fee who that text is. George replied, I was never a feeker out texts, that is the work of a Minister. Then faid the A vocate, put up your Bible, for we are not for pread ing now. He answered, I am not come to preach; h Sir, that is the word of God - and I charge you, a not only you, but all of you, that as ye shall answere day, before our Lord Jesus Christ, when he shall judget tween the just and the unjust, that ye judge me by what written in this Holy Bible, otherwise remember, year the rest of you, shall account for it in that day, when a Lord shall, fit as Judge, and ye stand naked and bare h fore bim; and if ye do it not, I shall be a witness again you. They told him, he was come to be judged, a not to judge. After some silence, he was examine upon the ordinary questions, for they had nothing t to lay to his charge, but what they got from his or answers. He was returned to prison, and kept in ito till December, when he was executed.

Council.

Mean while, the Council on the 17th, having con ings of the dered the report of their Committee concerning the foners referred to them, the faid George Jackson a George Hutchison of Harlaw were remitted to the Jul ciary, and they delayed the case of Mr. William Wishin and others, to further confideration; and ordered eq or ten poor country people to be released upon prom ing to keep their parish Church. The same day, the ordered for transportation to America, Will. Laing Hawick, James White in Douglas, John Harper in M wick, Gav. Muirhead in Camnetban, John Gardner Monkland, Dav. Jamison a sweet singer (p. 134)

Persons banifhed. t

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mes Balfour in Fife. Their pretended crimes were re- 1684. llion and harbouring of rebels. After the managers d agreed with Walter Gibson merchant in Glasgow, for e transportation of these and other prisoners, there was frange act of grace made on the 27th, by which such the rebels as were penitent, were ordered to be insported. The tender mercies of the wicked are uel.

While these severities were used to the prisoners, the Hardsbibs untry was oppressed by the soldiers. As two of them of the paere levying the Cess, in the parish of Dalmellingtoun, rish of Dalmellingtoun, Dalmeld were endeavouring to apprehend two of the wan-lingtounrers, they were flightly wounded. Whereupon Duns with his men came upon that village, and particuly seized on the goods of one Andrew Mitchel, who as no ways concerned in the scuffle. The Lieutenant lled before him a great many, who, he pretended, had overfed with the out-lawed wanderers; fifteen of whom ere sent prisoners to Edinburgh, because they refused to ear they had not converfed with these people; and, ter 17 days confinement, were fined in 15000 merks, sides 500 to the wounded soldiers. James Gibson of rris was forced to pay the whole fum.

On the 5th of June, James Nisbet (p. 265) was James ecuted at the Howgate-bead near Glafgow. He, hav- Nesbit exg been intimate with John Richmond and some of his ecuted. low-fufferers, came to Glasgow to pay his last respects their burial; and, being known, was apprehended by s own cousin Lieutenant Nisbet (a persecuting spirit folves all the bonds of natural affection) and carried rectly to the guard, where he was foon enfnared by eir persecuting catechism, if I may use the expression. would feem, he was tried by the military Commifmers for justiciary there. He was so closely watched,

at he could scarcely get any thing wrote. His last testimony is in the Cloud of Witnesses, and gins with these words, "Now I am brought hither this day, to lay down my life for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and for afferting him to be Head and King in his own bouse, and for no matter of fact, Vol. II. Nn

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1684.

" they have against me. — Although the most m " of the men of this generation is counting it death

call him fo, yet I, as a dying man, live and dieing

" faith of it, that he shall appear to their confusion a for his own glory, now trampled upon and lying

" low. It is easy to see, in what spirit, and w what frame he and others changed worlds, which will an indelible reproach on the cruel perfecuters of the

Proceedings on account of the con-Blackloch.

The managers were after this informed of a Field meeting at Blackloch, where 100 were affembled in arm and had been purfued without effect by Colonel Wi venticle at dram and his party; and therefore the Committee, the 12th of June, ordered General Dalziel to exami Gavin Lowrie in Redmire, James Stuart of Hartwa and James Walker of Roseball, for not pursuing an giving timely notice of these men. On the 13th, the Advocate was enjoined to profecute the Heritors, up whose lands the rebels were seen (p. 191, 192.) \$ William Pater son was likewise sent to affist at these aminations, and to acquaint the Commissioners at Gla gow, that their remissiness in proceeding against then bels, and other disorderly persons there, gave offend and to enjoin them to be more diligent, and forthwi to punish those, according to law, against whom t proof was clear, or who confess'd their being int rebellion, and continued obstinate in their rebellion principles; and to transport to the plantations, the against whom there was not sufficient evidence, a would not confess their being accessary to the rebellion unless they formally renounced the Covenant and to the oath of allegiance, &c.

Heritors, &c. to be

Sir William returned, and on the 19th, the Count finding, from his report, that most of the heritors in prosecuted parishes of Shotts, Camnethan and Monkland had be guilty, in not informing against those, who were se in arms, and ordered them to be fummoned to appr before them on the first of July next, together with the Sheriffs of Stirling, Linlithgow and Lanerk, Willia Mart of Allantoun, James Stuart of Hartwood, Willia Cochra

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chran of Ochiltree younger, Walker of Hackethurn, and 1684. r. William Violant indulged Minister at Camnethan, beuse these rebels had passed by his house in arms, and did not inform any Magistrate or Officer of the army

Here was a rout, as if all the country had been up, Remarks. ough it is well known, that these people were drove the necessity of meeting in arms, if they met at all, order to defend themselves against their persecutors, herwise, they never injured any, but met peaceably the worship of God, and dismissed to their lurking aces, to conceal themselves the best way they could; t why fo many Gentlemen should be brought to all is trouble, for what was not in their power to help, uft be left with the reader.

But to leave this for a little, I find on the 13th of this James onth, James Hasty of Harlaw in the parish of Car-Hasty. irs, was obliged to give Meldrum a bond of two huned merks for the great crime of Nonconformity. Many ere the losses this person sustained by the quartering of Idiers, fines, imprisonments, &c. which I have not om here to mention.

On the 19th, Sir William Paterson reported, that 22 Persons ere ordered for transportation from Glasgow, and to be banished. nt along with Gibson; and the same day, the Council affed sentence of transportation against James M'Gachin, Dalry, John Crichtoun in Kirkpatrick, John Mathison in oburn, and John M'Chisholm in Spittle, and in Au-# 15 more were ordered the fame way. All this was resett and converse. One John Dick was in this month June banished to Carolina. At his examination, he wned the lawfulness of defensive arms, when people are pressed, for adhering to their principles; and being ofely interrogated as to praying for the King, he said, I can, as he hath a foul, and hath not finned the unpardonable sin, but to pray for him as he is King, and for the prosperity of his courses, I cannot do it."

There was a joint testimony against, Popery, Pre- Ajoint 7, &c. and for the Covenants and work of reforma-testimony. on, figned by the following persons before they were **fhipped** Nn 2

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VOL. 1683, shipped off, viz. James M'Clintoch, John Buchama Will Inglis, Ga. Black, Ad. Allan, John Galt, Th. M rishal, Will. Smith, Ro. Urie, Th. Brice, John Syn Hugh Syme, W. Syme, Jo. Alexander, Jo. Marishal, M. Machan, John Paton, John Gibson, John Young, An Cunningham, Geo. Smith and John Duart.

Their treatment aboard,

About 32 of these transports were put aboard G fon's ship, about the beginning of July, and suffered gre hardships, during their passage, through the cruelty the Captain and failors. What money was given the by their friends, was taken from them. They were d turbed, when at worship under deck; and when en they began to fing pfalms, they were threatned, and hatches closed upon them. They had their bread h weight, and their water by measure; and no different was made between the fick and the healthy.

and after they landed.

When they landed at Carolina, they were put in houses, under a guard. What things their friends ga them to be fold to the best advantage, to be distribute among them, were otherwise disposed of. John Dia formerly mentioned, though he paid all his freight, a cept 30 shillings, for which he offered fecurity, w contrary to agreement, forced up the country, ast Captain's fervant, where he died. John Smith a John Paton being discovered attempting to escape, we beat eight times every day, and condemned to perpett

Cafe of Elizabeth Linning.

When they were lying ready to fail from Clyde, El zabeth Linning came to visit some of them, who we her acquaintance, and was, by the Captain's order, a ried along with them, though nothing could be laid her charge. When they got to Carolina, perceiving Captain intended to fell her for a flave, she took am per opportunity and escaped, and made her case know to the Governor, who treated her civilly, and order the captain to be summoned before him the next con day, when the Captain's villany was discovered, and innocent girl released, and declared a free woman. Scar fix of those prisoners ever returned to Scotland, the mo of them dying in Careline. But to return to the trans tions at home.

ap. 10. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

On the first of July, the Council fined Hackwoodburn, 1684.

277

lantoun and Hartwood, according to the proclamation 191) and next day ordered the two last to be re-Stuart of fed, upon engaging to fatisfy the cash-keeper as to toun, &c. eir fines. What Hackwoodburn's fine was, I know not : fined. t Stuart of Allantoun was fined in 3000 merks, and

uart of Hartwood in 1500. Nothing could be laid to eir charge, but because some came from the above eeting in arms through the parish where they lived, in

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mo anfa eir way home. Allantoun was looking out at the winw, by accident, and faw them; and Hartwood met

em, as he was coming from church at Camnethan. was not fo much as pretended, that they conversed

th any of them, or gave them any supply; but beuse they did not raise the country to seize them, on

e Lord's day, this was the way, they were served. On the 15th of July, the Earl of Perth was made Perth hancellor in the room of Lord Aberdeen, and Linlith-made Chancelw made Justice general; and the better to suppress lor.

onconformity, a new commission came down from the ing, to the Council. None of the former Members ere left out, only some new ones were put in. His

ajesty expressed his hopes, that they would go on mly and faithfully in his fervice, by doing justice to speople, by putting the laws vigorously in execution ainst the Fanaticks, those enemies not only of his per-

n and government, but likewise of all religion and soty. There is no occasion to make any remarks upon

is, nor to infert the Council's fullom letter. It is easy guess at the strain of it.

The Council, in order to profecute the King's designs, Committee pointed the same day a new Committee for publick for pub. airs, consisting of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and lick afalgow, the Earls of Linlithgow, Belcarras and Tweele, the Lords Drumlanerk and Living stone, the Lairds Drumelzier and Claverhouse, or any three of them. his new-appointed Council went on in profecuting heors and others for not raising the bue and cry, and in irling after the blood of those, who could not prosti-

te their consciences to a compliance with their wicked positions.

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Orders to Sir W. Murray,

Jiam Murray of Stenhope and others, on account of for Conventicles they were informed of, complaining, the Gentlemen had not given notice of them, according to the proclamation (p. 191) which they now order to be reprinted; and therefore enjoined them to fear for, and apprehend the preachers and hearers. And not day, the Council impowered the Sheriff-depute of Air, and Captain Inglis, to call before them, and examine, upon oath, those who could give them the best information of the heritors, through whose lands they who came to or went from these Conventicles, were seen, and send account to the Council. The persons thus the button their malice, were the followers of Mr. Renwick, on whom we have heard.

Partiality
of the
Council.

On the same 17th of July, the Council had before them the Laird of Dundass, because the people, as the came from the meeting at Blackloch, had gone through the bounds of his estate, and he had not raised the hand cry. Dundass urged, he was not at home for some veral days after that, and knew nothing of the matter for some time. But this defence was over-ruled, though the same very day the Earl of Tweedale was accused the same crime, and made the same defence, which the sufficient as good; for, says my author, it was now show me the man, and I will show you the law.

Mr. W. Violant deprived of his indulgence, &c.

The same day, Mr. Violant indulged Minister at Cam nethan, because he did not raise the bue and cry on the Lord's Day, when the people came past his house, from the faid meeting at Blackloch, had his indulgence take from him, and was ordered to find bail to depart the kingdom at fuch a time, or, in case he did not chill that, to give fecurity not to exercise any part of his mi nistry under the penalty of 5000 merks. Some day after this, when he appeared before them, he told them that he did not think a minister was obliged to be a informer, and owned, that he had preached without in parish-church, and baptized children belonging to other parishes, and was obliged to answer to his Master Christ from whom he had his instructions. He was ordered to prison, till he should find bail, as above related. 0 ap. 10. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

279 On the 22d, according to my author, one Patrick 1684.

alker, a boy of about 18 years of age, was before the ouncil, and confessed, that he was present at the mur- P. Walof Francis Garden one of the Earl of Airly's troop, ferings.

d refused to discover his accomplices; and was orred to be examined by torture next day, when he was pointed to be banished. But Patrick Walker's own count, which he has published at the end of some rearkable passages of Masters Semple, Welwood and Caron, seems to be more distinct; for he observes, that was feldom the clerks wrote as the prisoners spoke. I all therefore give the substance of his own rela-

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on. He was taken out of his bed with other four on the His orun th of June, and brought out of Linlithgow Thieves-account, p. k on the first of July, and next day examined before 163, &c. c Council; and that night, he, James Edward and

ohn Gardner received their indictment, for owning the venants, defensive arms, &c. On the third, they ceived sentence of transportation, which was prounced by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who, says , within a month after, got his fentence elsewhere. e was again examined on the 22d; and on the 23d

ere was a strong debate among the Counsellors, wheer they should prosecute him for his life, or examine m by torture; but none of them took place; for some

ged, that fince nothing new was either confessed or oved, and as he was under fentence, they could pro-

ed no further. However, they renewed their foresaid stence. He lay in irons from that to the first of Auh, when he was put aboard a vessel; but with 13 other

soners he was brought back on the 6th with a design his life; but that was prevented. However, he con-

ued in prison till the 18th of May 1685, when, with

any others, he was fent to Dunotter, and brought back Leith on the 18th of August, and made his escape out

prison. He says, that during the 14 months he was long their hands, he was eighteen times examined,

d only thrice about that man's death, which happened follows:

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1684. Francis Gordon killed.

In March 1682, Francis Gordon (for so he calls hi happened to pursue and overtake James Wilson, Thomas Young, and Patrick Walker, about four miles from I nerk. Thomas Young asked him, why he pursued the Gordon replied, he was come to fend them to James Wilson told him, they would defend themselve Upon which Gordon run his fword through William coat, who immediately fired upon him, but miffed him then another of them shot him with a pocket pistol. this time, William Caigow and Robert Muir two of wanderers came up with them. They fearched him papers, and found a scrole of names, which wered figned either to be killed or taken. P. Walker tore in pieces. Every thing else about him, they put in his pockets and left him; fo that what they acted w in their own defence, and none of them was ever que tioned for this, but Patrick Walker. Thomas Young terwards suffered at Mauchline, but was never challeng for this. Robert Muir was banished. James Wil furvived the perfecution. William Caigow died in Cannongate prison in the beginning 1685, so that, fa P. Walker, Mr. Wodrow was misinformed in saying that he suffered unto death. Thus I have given Walker's own account of his sufferings, and of thek ling of Gordon.

Proclamation for apprebending the rebels.

On the faid 22d of July, the Council emitted anoth proclamation for apprehending the rebels, fignifying, the whoever did not exert themselves, to the utmost, apprehending them, other effectual courses would taken for preventing rebellions, and fecuring the public peace. Though one might think, that many metho had already been used to suppress the poor wanders meeting for the exercise of divine worship, yet we h find, that other inventions of cruelty were still delign and very foon put in execution.

Ast about

Accordingly, the very next day, the following ad shumbkins. Council was made, "Whereas the boots were the

dinary way, to expiscate matters relating to the wernment; and that there is now a new inventor

" and engine called the Thumbkins, which will be to

" effectual to the purpose and intent foresaid, the Lor

his Majesty's Privy-council do therefore ordain, that, 1684. when any person shall, by their order, be put to the torture, the faid boots and thumkins BOTH, be applied to them, as it shall be found fit and convenient." hus they foon fell upon another method; but before end of this year, we shall find something still more readfull.

The same day, they fined John Brisbane of Freeland in J. Brise fum of 5001. Sterl. for Conventicles and Nonconformity, bane fined. dordered him to lie in prison, till he paid the two irds of it, and, out of their great goodness, superseded e other third, till they should see his future conduct.

On the 24th, the act about thumbkins was first exe- Arthur ted on Arthur Tacket a taylor in Hamiltoun, who had Tacket en apprehended as he came from hearing Mr. Renwick, executed. order to force him to tell who preached. The Advote told him, that if he would be ingenuous and free. answering the questions, nothing he said should miate against him, or any other. He answered, that he uld not believe them, fince they had broken their oaths, oscriptions and promises to God and man, and that he ald not think, they would press him so much to dere who preached, if they did not intend to make use what he faid. The boots were defigned for him, but surgeon telling them, that his leg being small, they ould crush it to pieces, he was therefore tortured by ethumbkins. As he had been ordered for execution easilt of March 1681 (p. 131) fo the Lords of Jusiary condemned him to be hanged at the Grass-market the 30th of this July, which was executed accordgly. In the Cloud of Witnesses, he is said to have sufted on the first of August. He died with great chearness, forgiving his persecutors and adhering to the venants and work of reformation, and owning all Matrates, superior and inferior, as they are agreeable to e Word of God and the Covenants, and as they are terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well. y Author justly questions, whether ever such numbers re executed for fuch a rising as Bothwel, especially so any years afterwards.

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William. Spence tortured,

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Reep.

On the said 24th of July, Mr. William Spence (p. 270 according to an act of Council, was put to the torto of the boots, which he endured with a great deal of n tience, discovering nothing which could give fatisfa tion to his inquisitors. But though it be allowed, the torture is the last trial, that ought to be made in most extraordinary cases, and so ought not to be peated, far less succeeded by any thing more inhum and barbarous; yet, fuch was the injustice and cruelty the Counfellors, that, on the 26th, they made act, ordering General Dalziel to receive Mr. W liam Spence from the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and appoint a fufficient number of officers and foldiers, watch him by turns, and not fuffer him to fleep nie nor day, but use every method necessary for keeping him awake, and, in the mean time, to take down writing every thing, he shall fay, in relation to the pla Bishop Burnet says, he was kept from sleep eight or in nights. This was a method of cruelty, that, I believe

William Shirinlaw murdered

in the

fields.

Some time in July, as Lewis Lawder, a subaltern of cer belonging to the garifon of Sorn, was, with a part fearching the country for the wanderers, they met wi William Shirinlaw a youth of about 18 years of age, the Woodhead of Tarbultoun in the shire of Air, and, at a few ordinary questions, Lawder commanded him to shot directly. Then the party went to the Stairha a place where William had been fervant, and feized Pa Lawmont, Matthew Bell and - Boswel, carried the to the adjacent fields, and ordered them to kneel a cover their faces, in order to be shot likewise; but Pro dence interposed, Lawder's men positively refusing obey the orders, faying, One in a day was sufficient.

was never invented before. To keep a man from let

night and day, was enough to deprive him of his fend

But I leave the reader to make his own reflections.

Rescue at path.

About this time, as nine prisoners were carried in Enterkin- Edinburgh, by a guard of 28 foldiers, fome of the wandering friends took up a resolution to rescue them and for this end, posted themselves in the narrow pa of Enterkin, between Dumfries and Edinburgh. Wh the prisoners came up, two and two tied together horfebac

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orseback, the countrymen demanded them to be re- 1684. afed, but were answered by a volly of shot, which they turned, put the guard to flight, killed one, wounded veral more, released seven of the prisoners, and took em along with them. Tho' the Laird of Lochear, a entleman of a small estate, who had been both at entland and Bothwel, was among those who were realed; yet, some way or another, he fell in among the diers, and was greatly wounded and cruelly used; ut the rescuers coming up, the soldiers retired, and he as fent to a country house in the neighbourhood, where is friends took care of him, as privately as possible.

The foldiers carried John M'Kechney, a pious good Confenan, one of the prisoners, with them to Edinburgh, quences of here he died, after enduring thirteen weeks great pain, om a wound, he received in his arm. When they ot there, and gave an account of what happened, frict fearch was ordered to be made, through Nithfale, for the rescuers. All persons, above 15 years of ge, in ten or twelve parishes round Enterkin, were orered to be examined upon oath. This was intimated from the pulpits. This was continued about fix weeks. Many were imprisoned, and more were oppressed, who new nothing of the matter. The foresaid Laird of ochear was apprehended, and, notwithstanding his wounds, was fent prisoner first to Dumfries, and then o Edinburgh, where he lay, till his patience tired out his ersecutors; so that he was released without any sinfu

Courts were also held by some of the forementioned Oppressive Commissioners; the Laird of Lag was singularly dili-courts. tent, and held a Court in the Church of Carsphairn, asisted by the revd. Curate Mr. Peter Peirson. The solliers grew still more and more insolent. George Lorimer a youth, was fent prisoner to Dumfries, ecause he would not drink the King's health, yet he appily made his escape. But I must pass these things.

About the end of this month and beginning of August, t several meetings of the Justiciary, near 200, mostly ountry people, had their processes dropt.

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Lord Neil Campbel confined.

On the first of August Lord Neil Campbel was order to be confined to the town of Edinburgh and six miles round it, under the penalty of 5000l. sterl. and to pear before the Council in the space of six hours after su mons. Nothing worthy of death or of bonds could alledged against him, unless it was a crime to be a brother of the Earl of Argyle.

Officers of the army impo-wered to examin the country.

According to what was threatned in the proclamatic (p. 280) other methods of oppression were appointed for on this day the Council, " confidering, that fever " desperate rebels do daily break out in arms, in me " titudes, at their feditious Field-conventicles, and " ambuscades for his Majesty's forces, and kill some " them," [this refers to the rescue at Enterkin-pal ordered the forces to be fo disposed of, as to be the ben able to apprehend them; and accordingly more of the were cantoned through the shire of Air, than in all t country besides. They likewise impowered Claverba and Colonel Buchan, or any deputed by them, "too " for and examine, upon oath, all fuch persons, asd " give any information in the premifes;" fo that t officers in the army, or their very substitutes, were put the place of the Magistrates, and had power to exami the country at their pleasure.

Prisoners ordered to be executed a few bours after sentence.

The fame day, they made a most barbarous act, of dering the prisons of Edinburgh and the Cannongate be visited, and recommending to the Justices, to prosecute and pronounce sentence of death on those, which shall be found to have been in the late rebellion, or we guilty of resett of rebels, and to order the sentence to executed in six hours after the passing of it, and the Commissioners at Glasgow and Dumsfries to act, in the same manner, with the guilty prisoners there, only they we to execute the sentence in three hours, after it was pronounced. Thus they fell upon methods with a witner I question, whether such an act is to be met with a where, but from the Council of Scotland, at this time by which people were, in a manner, hurried into etc nity.

On the fifth of August, several who were unjustly in prisoned, were released. Had they set all at libert

were truly fo, the blood of many innocents would 1684. thave been in their skirts. While Claverbouse, with a party, was searching the Thomas rishes, after the affair of Enterkin, they surprized Harkness, somas Harkness in Lockerbane, Andrew Clerk in Lead- &c. con-Is in Crawford, Samwell M'Ewen in Glencairn, and and exehomas Wood in Kirkmichael, while asleep in the fields, cuted the the parish of Closburn or Dalgerno. When the men same day. ere awake and faw them, they endeavoured to make eir escape; but the foldiers pursued, fired, and woundthem. All the houses, about the place where they ere taken, were plundered; and fuch was the cruelty ed to the prisoners, that they would not suffer their ounds to be dreffed, but carried a poor woman priner along with them, some part of the way, for offergher affistance. When they came to a narrow pass, leverhouse ordered his men to kill the prisoners, if any ould attempt to rescue them, though they had nothing lay to their charge. When they were brought bete the Council, three of the foldiers falfelly fwore, that elemen were at Enterkin-path, and were wounded ere, which they absolutely refused. Thomas Wood was served till afterwards; but the other three were rered to the Justiciary on this fifth of August, conmned and executed the same day. They drew up a ort joint testimony, which is in the Cloud of Witnesses, Edit. 4th, id is inferted in my author; in which they fay, among p. 303, her things, "We were questioned for not owning the &c. King's authority. We answered, that we owned all authority, that is allowed by the written word of God, and fealed by Christ's blood.—— We bless the Lord, we are not a whit discouraged, but content to lay down our lives with chearfulness, and boldness, and courage; and if we had a hundred lives, we would willingly quit with them all for the truth of Christ. Good news! Christ is no worse than he promifed. — Him that overcometh will be make a pillar in his temple. Our time is short, and we have little to spare, having got our sentence at one o'clock in the afternoon, and are to die at five this day.

And so we will say no more, but farewell all friends

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"and relations, and welcome heaven and Christ the cross, for Christ's sake." Samuel M'Ewing a short letter to a friend on this occasion, shew with what gladness he laid down his life, and the surance he had of a glorious eternity.——— The were the persons marked out for destruction by bloody judges of this period, who not only thirsted blood, but made haste to shed it.

James Nichol apprebended. James Nichol merchant in Peebles, being present this execution, was constrained in the bitterness of spirit, to say, in the hearing of many, These kine of I shan have pushed these three good men to death, at one pushed their own hase laws, in a most inhuman mer. Whereupon he was immediately seized, and or ried to prison, to fill up the next scene of blood.

R. Goodwin.

Mean while on the fixth of August, Robert Goods malfter in Glasgow, was sentenced to be banished, cause he would not own the King's supremacy, normalife to attend on ordinances, under the Bishops, The reader may think, he was well off, as things we However, he was with others sent to Dunotter, and terwards made his escape.

Fines ex-

The fines imposed at this time, were most exortant; for it appears, from an extract dated the 11th August, that the fines imposed on the heritors of shire of Roxburgh, for not keeping the church, amount to no less than 2747371. Scots or 228941. 155. stell shall not pretend to give particular accounts of the particula

William Spence's declaration.

On the 17th, they made a third act for the torture Mr. William Spence, in order to force him to petition be allowed to make a free and open confession, who he did. Bishop Burnet seems to intimate, that he tortured with the thumbkins, and that, in that extensive, he capitulated, that no new questions should put to him, but those already agreed on; and that should not be obliged to be a witness against any perform and that he himself should be pardoned. And accountingly, two days after, he declared, upon oath, "I

he believed an infurrection was intended, within thefe 1684. two years: as to what is to come, he cannot tell, what the people abroad may be a doing; that he had often heard of defigns and affociations; but, that they were directly intended to hinder the DUKE's fuccoffion to the crown, he cannot fay; for all that he understood was pretended for the ground of any defigns of arms, was the defence of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the kingdom; and if against the Duke's succession, it was only in so far as that might be prejudicial to these; and that he thinks upon the King's death, troubles may arise." The buncil, two days after this, declared, that what he had d, should not be prejudicial to any.

Mr. Spence was likewise prevailed on to decypher the arl of Argyle's letter (p. 235) in which Mr. Carstairs's me was expressed; but, says Bishop Burnet, none of ele letters spoke any thing of any agreeement then made. owever, this turned out to the prejudice of Mr. Car-

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On the 18th, Mr. Robert Baily of Jerviswood, who d been long in prison, and was now in a declining te of health, was permitted to have his Lady to visit m, with the physicians; but she was to speak nothing

him, but what they heard.

The same day, James Nichol, according to the Cloud J. Ni-Witnesses, was examined by the Council, and was chols's exd and courageous in his answers. Concerning prayg for the King, he faid, "If he belongs to the election of Grace, he has a part of my prayers, and also, if he were a King, that had kept covenant with God, I would give him a double share, and make mention of his name; but he is an apostate." When they ked him how he proved, from Scripture, what he faid ainst the Prelates, he told them, " By many Scriptures. The Kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors, but it shall not be so among you; but be that is greatest among you, shall be servant of all; not like your glutton, epicurean, belly-god Prelates, who are riding in coaches in great pomp." Upon

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this he was interrupted. He fays, that concerning tyrant, for I use his own words, he added, "That was brought home by Mr. Living Stone (vol. I. p. 38.8 and others, and put in a nobler state than any King " the whole world, crowned a covenanted King with eternal God, to be for him, to carry on his work a cause, he and all the people; which if he had on " tinued in, he would have been the greatest King " all lands, and nations in the world, and would ha been a terror to all the Kings in Europe; but now

" hath made himfelf base, and a reproach to all then "tions. And another reason, why I dare not own hi

or you either, is, because he and you have robb "Christ of his crown, although it be not in your pow

to do it." Then he was fent to the iron house a loaded with irons.

Next day, he was brought again before them, a re-examined upon the fame points, which I shall the fore omitt. We shall find him, in a few days, beforet Justiciary.

AR against owning authority according to the Covenant.

Mean while, on the 18th of August, the Coun made an act, impowering the Advocate to profet the King's criminally those who owned the King's authority, cording to the Covenant. By this the Council did ma than ever the parliament had yet ventured to do; a thus the owning of the COVENANTS, the glory of nation, was made treasonable; but it was not improp when a Papist was near ascending the throne, that chief bulwarks of the reformation should be removed.

J. Forbes of Lefly fined.

We have frequently related, what exorbitant in were imposed for nonconformity. John Forbes of Life Aberdeenshire, had been fined in 23201. Scots by t Laird of Kenmundie, for not keeping the Church; on this 19th of August, he gave in a petition to Council, fetting forth, that his not attending the Churc was only because the incumbent, Mr. Mowat, placed without his approbation, he being Patron, a that he attended ordinances elsewhere. And inde Mr. Forbes was no Whig; and therefore the Com fuspended the letters: But though Alexander Nain Sautford in Fife, and the Lady Abden had been me exorbitant orbitantly fined, yet they had no redress. The Counleldom met after this, but they had complaints of orbitant fines by Sheriffs and such as had Councilower. It would be endless to give particulars.

The same day, in consequence of a report from a Several committee, appointed to examine the state of the primers, in the prisons of Edinburgh and the Canongate, be prosecuted, hich were crouded, twenty of them, who were mean country people, were ordered to be released, upon obliging themselves to keep the Church and live regularly; at that Robert Tam and Gab. Thomson in Carmunnock, will Campbel at Muirkirk, John Ure maltster in Glassway, John M'Levy shoemaker in Kilmarnock, and Will. Soung taylor in Evandale be prosecuted before the usticiary according to law; and that James Nichol, formerly mentioned, be prosecuted for disowning the sing, and John Campbel tenant in Muirkirk, and John Sampbel son to William Campble of Overwelwood be pur-

The Gentleman last mentioned, John Campbel of Sufferings werwelwood, being scarce 18 years of years, and his of Campbel der brother William, about 20, had an uncommon of Overage of sufferings at this time. When they were living welwood. eaceably at the house of their excellent father, about the beginning of this month, they were feized by a party commanded by Bonshaw, when walking in the edds on Welwood-bill, and carried to the house of the Velwood, where they were kept, till their father's house has rished, and three of his riding horses taken away. Sonshaw swore at the Soldiers, because they did not noot them directly; for he was in a rage, that two sibles should be found about them, which was looked

pon as a certain mark of disloyalty.

After some removes, they were carried, on the sabbath their exacollowing, to the prison at Glasgow, and laid in irons minational next day, when they were examined on the ordinary westions, first by Lord Ross, and then by Lieutenant colonel Windram, who, among other things, asked John Campbel, if he would pray for the King. He answered hat he both did and would; that the Lord would give him a godly life here, and a life of glory hereaster.

Vol. II. P p Windram

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Windram said, That is not enough, you must pray for Ki CHARLES II. as be is SUPREME over all persons of causes, ecclesiastick as well as civil. The other said, In opinion, that was praying for him, as head of the Churc which belonged only to Christ; and he reckoned it arroga

in any creature what soever to claim it.

They were kept in irons eight days, and were the carried to Edinburgh, with their legs tied under the horses belly, and put in the Canongate prison, fro whence they were brought, feveral times, before Con mittees of the Council, and examined. Once John w asked, if he had been at Bothwel. He answered, No for he was only put to the grammar school the Marti mass after it. The Clerk wrote, "as to Bothwel, thep " foner answers, I was but young then, but had I be " old enough, I would have been there." When the was read to him, in order to subscribe it, he told then that the Clerk was unjust, and wrote a lie, and appeal to the Lords prefent; but the matter was hushed. The used all arts to get him to comply, and, among on things, told him, that his brother had complied and tisfied the Council. This was worse than the Clerk conduct; for it was a lie spoken in judgment. M John stood his ground notwithstanding, but was grieved at his brother's supposed conduct, who had be carried to the prison of Edinburgh, that he wrote an u subscribed letter, which he sent by one Margaret Am who was feized at the door of the prison, and came along with Mr. William Campbel before the Council, a strictly examined concerning the writer of the lette She was tortured by the thumbkins, and he threatne with the boots; but nothing could prevail. Next, the ordered a Committee to examine the prisoners in the Canongate prison on this point, particularly John Cam bel of Overwelwood, and his cousin of the same nam who were removed from the room they were, in to the Iron-house. They were not long there, for on the 21 of August they found means, with eleven others, break prison, and make their escape. One Willia Young was retaken and fuffered, and another w wounded. T

The two cousins met, the night after their escape, on e hill of Tintock, and from thence went to Airsbire, here they were joined by John Campbel's father and Villiam Campbel, of Middlewood, and spent that winter nd part of the next year in the fields, as privately as bey could. It is easy to conceive the hardships they nderwent, in being exposed to all manner of weathers: ut this was not their case alone, but of many hundreds elides, who were forced to wander about in dens and aves of the earth. William Campbel died of a conimption contracted by the feverities, he met with in rison at Edinburgh. His father and brother survived ne persecution, and the latter was made a Captain of orse by King WILLIAM, to whom he did singular evice, in many parts of the kingdom. But I must reurn to the History.

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The day after the prisoner's escape, the magistrates of Edinburgh were enjoined to take more care of the pribners for the future, else they alone should be accountble for any that should afterwards escape. This day sames Nichol got his indictment, and was told, that he

ras to be condemned and executed on the 27th.

On the 25th, Dr. James Welwood, famous for his cu-Dr. J. jous memoirs and other writings, was ordered to be Welton to Coupar, to fatisfy the Sheriff for his nonconfor-wood.

Next day, the Council had a petition presented by Petition of the Robert Aitkin and about 22 men and women, who R. Aitwee most unjustly fined by Kennoway, and ordered hop to be put to the execution of the letters raised gainst them on that account. Matters must have been wrong, when the Council interposed.

The same day, they ordered a party to bring in Pat. Lang maltster in Greenock, James Holm, Will. Baird, Will. Andrew, James Warden, Will. Scot, Marian Muir, Linning, Geo. Muir, and other prisoners, to Edinardh, for being at a Field-meeting, held by Mr. James Renwick, where a child was baptized.

On the 27th, James Nichol (p. 286, 287) and Wil-J. Nicol ian Young were brought before the Justiciary, con-and W. Young

temned in the forenoon, and executed in the afternoon. executed.

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There was no other proof against any of them, but the confession, which was extorted by the ordinary quel

ons, which they answered,

James Nicol died in much peace and comfort, pro testing, that he expected salvation, not by any men but of free grace, faying, "I have been beginning " pray and praise these thirty-fix years, weakly as could, but yet I am just to begin this night both of praise and pray; for I lay no more stress upon a

" that I have faid and done, believed and fuffered " nor on a straw, God is my witness; so that I mu

" have falvation upon Wednesday at three or for " o'clock, as free as the thief on the cross. And wh

" can poor filly James Nicol fay more?"

William Young had, for some years before he was an prehended, been out of his right mind. He was on of those, who escaped out of prison, and would not have been known, had he not himself told the soldiers, the he had broke the Tolbooth. He was most barbaroul used, when re-committed; but he bore all his suffering with patience, faying, that extreme pain would be it tolerable, if eternal, but he was now near the crown and rejoiced in the full affurance of it.

Mr. Baily of Jerviswood fined.

p. 585.

On the 30th, Mr. Baily of Jerviswood was ordered to be profecuted, for entertaining and corresponding with rebels; and on the fourth of September, because her fused to answer, upon oath, the questions put to him was fined in the fum of 6000 l. sterling. Bishop Burn tells us, that " the Ministers of State were most ear nestly set on Baily's destruction, though he was now i fo languishing a state — that if his death would have fatisfied the malice of the Court, that feemed to be ver near. An accufation was fent him, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on letter of the King's, in which he charged him, not on for a conspiracy to raise a rebellion; but for being en gaged in the Rye-plot; of all which he was now re quired to purge himself by oath, otherwise the Cour cill would find him guilty of it, and proceed accordingly

He was not, as they faid, now in a criminal court, bu 586. before the Council, who did only fine and imprison.

s to no purpose for him to say, that by no law, un- 1684. it was in a court of inquisition, a man could be reired to swear against himself, the temptation of perry being fo strong, when felf-preservation was in the e-: but to answer all this, it was pretended, he s not now on his life, and that whatfoever he confed was not to be made use of against his life, as if ruin of his family, which confifted of nine children, d perpetual imprisonment, were not more terrible. pecially to one so near his end as he was, than death elf; but he had to do with inexorable men; so he was quired to take this oath, within two days. And by at time, he not being able to appear before the Coun-, a Committee was fent to tender him the oath, and take his examination. He told them, he was not le to speak, by reason of the low state of his health, d, in general, protested his innocence, and his abprence of all designs against the King or the Duke's e. He defired they would leave the other interrogaries with him. They persisted to require him to take soath; but he as firmly refused it. So upon their reor, the Council construed this refusal to be a conflon, and fined him as above, and ordered him to lie prison till it was paid."

A few days after this, they ordered his Lady and his fer the Lady Graden to be removed from his room in eprison, because they were informed his bodily indisolition was abated, though his recovery was but stent, and he soon after relapsed. Wherefore his sister was similted to be close prisoner with them. She had been need for nonconformity by the Sheriff of Teviotdale in soon and odd pounds. The Lady Greenbead and John station of Dunikeir had likewise been exorbitantly fined.

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## CHAP. XI.

Of the torture of the revd. Mr. Carstairs, the proceeding the Council, and Circuit-courts, together with the cieties apologetical declaration.

Cafe of Mr. Car-

HE first thing that occurs, in the order of time is the case of the reverend Mr. William Carlla (p. 234, 235) who, immediately after the decyphen of Argyle's letter (p. 235) was ordered to be put in iron in which he continued for some weeks; during whi time, the Earl of Melford earnestly dealt with him confess, what he knew as to the plot, and offered h conditions, that many, in his circumstances, would ha thought very encouraging; particularly, that nothing faid should be brought in prejudice to any man, dired or indirectly, upon trial. Melford had the Council's thority to offer this. However, Mr. Carstairs did n think proper to comply, though Lord Perth had to him, fince he had refused so many singular favours yond any prisoner, that, before God, he should bett tured, and never a joint of him left whole.

who was put to the corture.

The Council, on the 5th of September, ordered, the should be questioned in torture that afternoon, a agreed upon 20 questions to be proposed to him, relating to the persons suspected to be ingaged in the foresaid conspiracy, which the reader may see at largin my author, vol. II. p. 391. In the afternoon, was brought before them, and the declarations of M jor Holmes and Mr. Shepherd were read. He told then he had never been constronted with them; which was evidence, that they had said things, they would have had the considence to have afferted in his present to be proposed, and was told, that nothing he should ever militate against him, neither should they quire, whether his answers were true or salse; but her

p. 11: CHURCH of SCOTLAND. ed to comply, being unwilling to begin fo bad a pretent. They asked him next, what reasons he had, whe should not be tortured. He replied, that he mbly conceived, he could not be tried there, because order, by which he was fent to Scotland, was exes, that he should be tried for crimes committed ainst the government in that kingdom, and defired to ow, if the Lord Advocate had any thing to lay to charge of that nature. His Lordship declared he d not; but that being now in Scotland, if he had been ilty of contriving against his Majesty's government at instantinople, he might be tried for it. Mr. Carstairs ld them, though that was true, yet the crimes he s accused of, were said to be committed in Engd, where his Majesty's laws were in force, for the serity of his government, as well as in Scotland, which Constantinople they were not: but this was overruled, ough it was a notorious breach of the Habeas-Corpus After some farther communing, the King's smith s called in with the thumbkins; and accordingly, his umbs were put in the screws, which were drawn so rd, that, fays Bishop Burnet, as they put him to ex- p. 584. me torture, fo they could not unscrew them, till the ith, by whom they were made, was obliged to use his ols, to take them off. Under this torture he contied an hour and an half. Mean while, the torturing the boot was tried; but the former executioner begin prison for some crime, and he that then officiated ing ignorant how to use it, it was put off, till next y. And in the interim, the Lord Treasurer Depute as appointed to confer with him, in order to bring

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m to an ingenuous confession. On the 6th, the Council being informed, that Mr. the conrstairs was content to swear upon the interroga-ditions he ies, made an act impowering the Lord Treasurer epute to give his word of bonour, that, upon his anering, upon oath, what questions should be put to m by the first of October next, he should have his Maby's full pardon, never be brought as witness against y person or judicatory, directly or indirectly, for any ing contained in his answers, nor ever be questioned

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VOL as to any thing prior to this day, after the faid full Ottober.

the unjust treatment be met with.

His examination came on, on the 8th. His cand was fingular in the answers, he gave to their quelle The reader may fee his depositions in the State-Tri and in Sprat's copies of informations; and that they amounted to no more, than some loose discourses, a what was proper to be done, at fuch a crisis, for ferving their religion and liberties: but the Council corded nothing in their registers of what passed a examination, only they ordered his depolitions to printed, a few hours after they were made, and that to lame and unfair a manner, that, probably, they ashamed to insert them in their registers; and, which worfe, contrary to the conditions given, they produ and read them at the trial of Jerviswood and others, support their evidence, as we shall relate; it was equivocating to fay, that Mr. Carftairs was not fonally adduced as a witness; for if his declarations produced, he reckoned he was made an evidence. T reverend person vindicated himself and his brethm England from all affaffinating defigns, which, he is they abhorred, and, in a letter to my author, he presses himself in these terms:

part of a letter of bis to Mr. Wodrow.

" Now, as to the whole of this unpleasant subject " do declare, that this affair is, fo far as I was o

" cerned in it, as to any confultations, no furt " than to discourse, as to what might be proper to

" done for fecuring our religion and liberty, from " dangers they were then in, without any design aga

" the royal persons of the King and his brother.-"I should be guilty of the most horrid injustice,

" should accuse any of the worthy Gentlemen of

country, that were my fellow prisoners, or any of

" English diffenting Ministers, of having the least kno

" ledge of, or concern in the abominable affaffinat of the King or his brother; for I did then, as I

" now, abhor such practices; nor can I, to this ho " tell really what was in that matter, that makes is

" a noise; for nothing in my maimed depositions,

are printed, hath any regard to any thing of that

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ture, except as to what Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Shepberd did fay, for which they alone are to be answerable; and I must also say, that Mr. Shepherd did own his abhorrence of fuch practices. \_\_\_\_ I cannot but also acquaint you, that I think it was a hardship put upon me, to print my depositions, as they stood, because they were very lame; fince simple answers to questions were set down, and neither the questions that gave rife to fuch answers, nor the just extenuations, as to persons and things, which I gave in my answers. Which had they been published, it would have been found, from what I faid, that there could be no reason given, why that affair should have been profecuted with fo much cruelty and violence."-Bishop Burnet says, "that Mr. Carstairs had, at this ne, some secrets of great consequence trusted to him Fagel, of which they [the managers in Scotland] had suspicion; and so they asked him no questions about m. Fagel told the Doctor, that he saw by that, w faithful Carstairs was, fince he could have saved melf from torture, and merited highly, if he had difvered them. And this was the foundation of his faur with the Prince of Orange, and of the great confince he put in him to his death." I shall have occan to mention this worthy person again, at the trial of r. Baily of Ferviswood; and now I proceed to other ings, as they occur in the order of time.

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Circuit-courts having been again refolved upon at Commdon, upon application from the Bishops and mana-missions in Scotland, the King's letter, ordering the Council for Circuit give a Commission for them, was read on the 6th of plember. Accordingly Commissioners were appointed the several shires; and their commission was to conwe in force till the first of December, or longer, if the ouncil should think fit. They, or any two of them, te to act within the bounds prescribed as Comfioners of Justiciary in all matters of life and death; by their instructions, which consisted of 28 articles, ey were to disarm all heritors and commons, except the litia, who have not taken the test, and fine the recuits; to feize all preachers, chaplains not authorized VOL. II. by Qq

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by the Bishop, and send them in to the Council, to mine the indulged Ministers on their instructions, rem fuch as have transgressed, and imprison them, till to find fecurity not to preach, or exercise any part of the ministerial work, or else to remove from the three kin doms; they were further, by their instructions, i powered to turn out all the wives and children of feited persons and fugitives, from their habitations, shall appear, they have conversed with their parents husbands, or if they shall refuse to vindicate themsel by oath. In a word, they had, in a manner, and limited power, and might do what they pleased; the instructions carried them even to fire and fword; for reflections upon this are altogether unnecessary. But it was October, before these terrible Circuits sat down will be proper to relate fome interveening occurrence

Mr. Sinclair outlawed in abjence.

On the 9th, Mr. John Sinclair Minister at Ormifa having thought proper to retire to Holland, was indid before the Justiciary, in absence, for preaching treas able doctrine, pressing the renewing of the Covena defensive arms, declaiming against the King, calling Duke a rebellious enemy to God, and the Count rogues, and praying that God would open the Kin eyes to fee the evil of his ways, and turn him from (a very good prayer) or elfe take him away from be a scourge and a curse to God's people. But tho' h was no shadow of proof for these alledged expresso yet he was forfeited, and declared a fugitive and of law.

Proclamation concerning

On the 15th, in order to prevent the sufferers in flying from the perfecution then carried on, a pro passens, mation was published, requiring all masters of hi going from, or returning to, the kingdom, to pre all their passengers, upon oath, to the several persons be named by the customers in the precinct, mention in the proclamation, under the penalty of imprisonme confiscation of their goods, and being rendered in pable of being mafter of a ship, bark, or any others fel, for the time to come. And,

and travellers.

On the 16th, another proclamation was publish discharging all persons to travel, from one shire to

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nt, without a pass, from some persons in the governnt, under the pain of being punished as disaffected
fons: so that as the former proclamation could not
the prejudicial to trade and commerce, so this was
wersive of the liberties of the subject. It is strange
orthodox Clergy were not impowered to give passes.
But this was a time, when little regard was paid to Magiliberties of the subject; for the same day, the Coun-strates
nominated a Provost, Bailies, and Town-council for chose
town of Air; nay, this month and the following, for the
my author sound from the registers, they engrossed Air.
whole power of nominating the Magistrates, in most
the royal burghs. They even ordered a Committee
be present, and oversee the election of the Magistrates

Edinburgh.

The design was now formed to turn out all the in- Design yed Ministers, and either to make them promise not against the preach, or engage to remove from the kingdom, as indulged ministers. It is had nothing to object against their loyalty; for syrather exceeded in that point, and laid themselves in much open to the censures of many of their suffing brethren: but this brings to my mind, what moble Protomarty's faid to some Ministers, who were mitted to attend him (vol. I. p. 96) "Though you go along with these men in part, if you do it not in all things, you are but where you are, and so must suffer; and if you go not at all with them, you shall suffer." Accordingly,

On the said 16th of September, Mr. John Know in- Mr. John ged at Westcalder, son of Mr. Know Minister at Bow- Know inin Teviotdale, appeared before the Council, and was gratefully instituted, was in vain, for this worthy person, to plead his forreservices to the King, during his exile; for this was a time, when regard was paid to sormer savours.

was chaplain to Sir John Brown's regiment of sea the battle of Inverkeithing. His elder brother
Henry, was frequently employed by the King, in sociating his affairs in Scotland. Many of the King's

ers to his friends were directed to Mr. John: nay,

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1684. the King wrote a letter to himself, dated at St. Germain August the third, 1652, wherein he expresses a great ve lue for his interest and negotiations, and concludes thus: "I could heartily wish therefore, that, by you interest and negotiation, with those you dare trus " and who, you know, wish me well, some way may " thought of to affift me with money, which would be " a very feafonable obligation, and could never be for gotten by ME. I need fay no more, but that I ha " be glad to receive any advice or advertisement from " you, that you think necessary for me, and shall a " ways remain your very loving friend, &c." Mr. Kn was ordained Minister of North Leith, from which was ejected, at the restoration of his very loving frien because he could not, in conscience, submit to prelacy and though he was afterwards indulged at Westcalde yet now he was imprisoned, because, when the manage infifted upon his giving bond, never to exercise his m niftry in Scotland, he told them, that he looked on him felf as a Minister of Christ, and would never tie up hin felf from preaching his gospel.

Mr. Hay of Park.

The same day the Council ordered Hay of Par Alex. Munro and Campbel of Ardkinglass to be sent Blackness Castle. Mr. Hay continued in prison till A gust next year; and Mr. Campbel, about the end of ne April, was brought to Edinburgh under a strong guar in order to apear before the parliament. But nothing moment was evidently proved against him. What we the issue, is not known.

A cruel

The fame day, they made an act, ordering those we would not declare Bothwel to be rebellion, the Primate death to be murther, or who owned the Covenants, only besitated on these things, to be prosecuted a minally, or tried for their life. This was the pattern the questions proposed, by the soldiers, to those who they afterwards met with, and murdered in the fields.

Mr. Renwick intercommuned. During all these unprecedented methods of oppression Mr. James Renwick continued to exercise his ministrand preach in the fields, notwithstanding the many hardships they endured, which were still more and maincreasing; for on the 16th, he was ordered to be into

commune

ommuned, and on the 19th was indicted, in absence, be- 1684. ore the Justiciary for being at Bothwel (which was false; or he was then a boy at the college) for preaching at field-conventicles in arms, &c. Next day, letters of inrecommuning were issued out against him, prohibiting the fubjects from receiving, supplying or furnishing im with meat, drink, house, harbour, &c. or conversing ith him, either by word or writing, under the highest pains.

On the 25th, John Brown journeyman-taylor in J. Brown. Edinburgh, having been taken in Libertoun's-wynd, was ordered to lie in irons till further orders, for not ownng the King's authority without his own limitations; duling to pray for him at their defire, fince that ought be gone about in a devout manner and place for mayer; owning the lawfulness of rising in arms for the wenant, &c. It is furprifing, he was not fent directly othe Justiciary and execution; but, possibly, says my uthor, there was not a quorum of the Justices in own.

Some time this month, Major Balfour seized one Colin C. Alison. Alifon a weaver in Glasgow, in his own house, and com-imprimitted him to prison, where he lay till the revolution. Soned.

Nonconformity was his only crime.

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I am now, according to the order of time, to relate Circuit ome of the proceedings of the Circuit courts (p. 297.) Courts. The design of Judicatories is to punish the guilty and protect the innocent; but these courts, without paying my regard to justice, equity, or the liberty of the subect, most barbarously harrassed all ranks of people, uner the pretence of their receiving and conversing with tebels; but to the honour of this mild administration be t spoken, their oppressive powers were very large, and y virtue of a royal letter dated the 27th of September, he Council and their Commissioners were impowered, then there was no legal proof, to refer the matters of ccusation, to the oath of the defendant, and to punish im as guilty upon his refusing to swear.

The Circuit sat down at Dumfries, on the 2d of Octo- Circuit The Judges were Queensberry, his son, and Claver- at Dum-mse. Their districk was Dumfries, Galloway, Niths- fries,

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1684.

dale; in which district the Judges continued about month. All the heritors were called, and required take the test, which was offered as a favour to those, w were charged with what they called irregularities; at the recusants were imprisoned and fined. Most of the complied. Mr. Hugh Maxwel of Dalswinton, one of the who flood out, was exorbitantly fined, and endured long imprisonment. When they had done with t heritors, they fell to work with the common peopl All who would not swear, they did not hear Preson rian Ministers, or had not conversed with whom the called rebels, &c. The men were obliged to take the te and give their oath never to harbour, or shew any kind ness, &c. to any of the intercommuned wanderers, and raise the bue and cry upon their hearing of them, or di covering them. The women were to swear not to a habit, or shew the least kindness to their husbands children. The recufants, men and women, were fer directly to prison, by which means the prisons we crouded.

Sub-

From Dumfries, these Judges went to Kirkcudbright and from that to Wigtoun, and acted in the same manner; and, in the mean time, particular Gentlemen an officers of the army were commissioned to hold cour in those parishes, where the principal Judges could not reach. At these Sub-courts, if I may use the term, so weral were obliged to swear over again, though they have already satisfied the principal Judges. Many, who do not take the test, were unjustly fined and imprisoned About 28 prisoners were brought to Dumfries, to was the return of the Judges, and were most cruelly treated by the way, not being allowed the very necessaries of life.

Address of the he-ritors.

While the Judges were thus at work, the her tors, &c. of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright were brought to present an address, dated the 9th of Ollober, where they offered to his Majesty five months cess yearly, so the space of four years, for maintaining the standing army, and the better securing the peace and quiet the kingdom, and bound themselves, for their tenant and cottagers, for the future, to live regularly, or bere move

noved from their lands. I shall relate how the hetors of the shire of Air were brought to give in to this; nd, its not unlikely, the same methods were used by lese commissioned Judges, wherever they went.

Mr. William M'Millan of Caldow, the revd. Mr. Sufferings Villiam M'George Minister at Heriot, Charles Maxwel, of Mr. nd others, had an uncommon share of sufferings at M'Milis Circuit of Dumfries. Mr. M. Millan had his health lan. reatly impaired by his former fufferings (vol. I. p. 405, 06.) He was declared rebel and fugitive after Bothel, and all his goods confiscated; which obliged him

conceal himself for several months in the fields. These ardships threw him into a violent fever. He was no oner recovered, but the foldiers dragged him before is Court at Dumfries. Because he declined to answer heir ensnaring questions, and resused the test, he was rdered to Wigtoun, to take his trial there. As he walked foot, he fainted, and fell down, whereupon the foliers put him on a bare colt, to the great hazard of his fe. He was confined to the guard-house at Wigtoun, reight days, without a bed to lie on, though he was flicted with a dysentery and flux, neither would the an ords, when they came there, allow him the benefit of e common prison, or to give bond to appear at Edinwgb. He was carried from place to place; and on e 22d of November, he and upwards of 80 men, woen, and fome children, were confined all night to the

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burch of Moffat, notwithstanding the rigour of the ason: and next day, being the Sabbath, they were reoved from thence to Edinburgh, where they were difbuted through the feveral prisons of the city and Canonate, and at last, many of them sent to Dunnotter, of hich I shall give an account next year. These priners, in their way to Edinburgh, endured the rudeness the foldiers and the scoffings of the prophane. One ames Muirhead late Bailie of Dumfries, was taken ill the road, and not being allowed the benefit of a

ysician, died in prison at Leith. Mr. M'George and James Muirhead above mentioned, Mr. M' gether with John Irvine, John Scot, John Gibson, Ho-George. Gillison, James Muir, Andrew M'Clellan, and others,

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1684. were all carried to the prison at Leith. Mr. M.G. continued confined there, till the middle of April year, when he was released, upon giving bond to pear when called.

Charles Maxwel.

Charles Maxwel in the parish of Keir was before infamous Circuit, for doing some acts of kindness his fifter-in-law, who had been feveral months in fon for her nonconformity, and because he refused the was put into the thieves-hole, and laid in irons. entreaty of his friends, and not having the same coun with others under his fufferings, he at last compli and was released upon paying the fees.

Women trouble.

Some women narrowly escaped prison, by this brought to some of these Circuits, because they affisted a woman labour, whose husband was pretended to be one of cerned in the Enterkin-path rescue (p. 282, 283.) T was construed resett and converse.

Sufferings Martine.

Many were exorbitantly fined, particularly Will Martine (p.208) fon to J. Martine of Dullarg was fin in the fum of 700 l. Scots. Sometime before this, w he was at Edinburgh, Queensberry sent for him, and fered to purchase the fortune he had a right to by marriage with the heiress of Carse; but because ! Martine would not part with it, for what he offer Queensberry told him, he would make him repent it, threatned to purfue him for his life. Whereupon Martine fold his right much under the value. In beginning of this year, his wife was forced to give by for 1001. Scots, for having a child baptized by a Pro terian Minister. I have not room to mention what fuffered by the quartering of foldiers, &c. and there I proceed.

Circuit at Air.

The Circuit at Air fat down in the beginning of tober. The Judges were the Earl of Mar, Lord ving stone and Lieutenant-General Drummond, afterwa Viscount of Stratballan.

Methods used with the beritors.

After the rolls were called in the presence of the ritors, each of the Lords had a speech, recommend to these Gentlemen to concert proper measures, for ing off the odium of disloyalty the shire of Air, in gent lay under. The design of this was to get them to mon

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ney, and bring them to comply with the test, and the 1684. er measures of the Court. The thing took; and mmond, who possessed the forfeited estate of Kersland, defired to affift them with his advice. The Lieuant General, pretending a great regard for their wele and the happiness of the county, gave it as his nion, that the best way, for shewing their loyalty, and curing an indemnity for past crimes, was to make a untary offer to take the test. He told them, that ugh the law confined it to those, who had places of f, yet their loyalty would appear by petitioning the rds Commissioners to administer it unto them. When s propofal was made, feveral withdrew, and they who dgave in to it; upon which a form of a petition was wn up; three copies were writ for the three districts the shire. Upon this, the Lords separated, one to the dy of the church, another to the isle, and a third to other place. Then the heritors, according to the reflive districts, were called. The question put to h was, Will you sign the petition or not? They o figned it were difmiffed, and the recufants were ored to continue where they were, without being alred either meat or drink; for, fays my author, it uld feem, they intended to starve them into loyalty: the Lords being ashamed of this indiscreet treatment to many innocent persons of rank, allowed them to me out of the church, and confined them to the town. ext the Commissioners proceeded to administer the test those, that had figned the petition; but finding that ne of them, upon fecond thoughts, had changed their nd and refused, they were so enraged, that they sent m to prison, and some of them to that nalty place, led the thieves-hole, as Montgomery of Bordland and hers, who had neither room to fit nor stand upright. he equity of this proceeding, after they were told, that law obliged none to take the test, but those in places trust under the government, must be left with the ider. After this, the recufants had indictments given m, confisting of many crimes, of which many of them re incapable; for forme young men, who had no falies, but lived with their parents, were chiston with gdom resett VOL. II.

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1684. resett and converse; and others unmarried, who had children, were accused of irregular marriages and These indicted Gentlemen were ranged into veral divisions, and such, as they saw proper, were dered to be examined by the officers and subaltern Mar's regiment, then lying at Air. Some of these ficers, as Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, afterwards tur Papists. From the report of these deputies, it appear that feveral were able to purge themselves, by oath the crimes laid to their charge, though others could yet ALL of them were treated as guilty, and were called again before the Lords, and had a new offer the test, as the only way to clear their innocence. veral complied through the importunity of their frien They, who still kept their ground, were brought, after another, before these righteous Commissioners, were still urged to take the test, and, upon their refu though they had nothing else they could prove aga them, were committed prisoners to that room in I booth or prison of Air, called the Council-bouse, w they remained, crouded together, without fire or proper accommodations, till, at last, the Lords pleased to dismiss them, upon exorbitant bail above value of their estates, to appear at Edinburgh w called.

Treatment of Ministers,

All the indulged *Prefbyterian* Ministers, in this h were called before this infamous Circuit, and, upon t refusing the test, were ordered to oblige themselves, to exercise any part of their Ministry, until they had lowance from the King and Council. One or two plied; but the rest, who absolutely resused, were to the Bass and other prisons, where they endured m hardships; and by this means, the orthodox Clergy free of most of the Presbyterian Ministers in the W

of the common people.

In order to frighten the country people and for young Gentlemen into the test, a gibbet was erected at cross. The Lords used to say, Yonder TREE will make take the TEST. One day the Earl of Mar said to a you Gentleman recusant, pointing to the gibbet, Will not shake your resolution? No, my Lord, answered the other if lost the be banged, I expect so much advantage h ito

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and quality, as to hang at the cross of Edinburgh, 1684. betwixt this and Edinburgh I may think what to do. hort, all recufants were disarmed; none were aled to go out of their parishes, without a certificate the prelatical incumbent; all were discharged from gat Field-conventicles upon pain of death. blamed with resett and converse, behoved either to the test, or go to prison.

efore I leave the Circuit at Air, I must mention two Sentence ances of particular severities. A poor country-man of death charged with being at Bothwel, and sentence was passed on g to be passed; but Lord Living stone, President at a poor time, told him, that if he would but answer one countryfion, the fentence should not be pronounced. The man.

tion was, Do you own the King's authority or not? man answered distinctly, My Lord, I do own the 's authority, so far as he acts by, and it is grounded on word of God. The President said again, I ask thee , do you own the authority of King CHARLES II. or no? To which he replied, I do own the authority ing CHARLES II. as he acts conform to the word of and grounds his power thereupon. The question several times repeated, and the honest man, not ing any other answer, was ordered to be hanged the cross of Air in a few hours; but, by the interon of fome ladies, he was reprieved and carried into burgh. Here was a sentence of death passed upon our man, because he could not see, that the King authority without any foundation on a divine

The other instance is of Quintin Dick, a feuar of Dal- Quintin ingtoun (vol. I. p. 462, 463) who being required to Dick's ar upon the common enfnaring questions, answered, Sufferings. at rising in arms in felf-defence, and entring into ues and covenants, without the consent of the Magite, were controverted points, and he could not e his oath upon them. Then they urged him to e the oath of allegiance. Upon which he declared, the owned the King's authority in things civil, and ready to swear it; but supremacy in things ecclesiastiwas fuch an usurpation upon Christ's kingdom, that Rr 2

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it. Whereupon he was fined in a thousand pour sterl, and ordered to be banished to the plantations. It goods were immediately seized, his house converted a guard-house, and himself cast into one of the wo places of the prison, among thieves and murder When he was carried to Edinburgh, he disowned the scieties declaration of war before the Council; for thought these zealous people carried matters too showever, he remained in prison, till he was sent wo others to Dunnotter. The resections he made on

fufferings, the reader will find in Mr. Wodre

Sermon of Alex. Rofs, D. D.

history.

The last Circuit-court, I am to speak of, is that Glasgow, which sat down on the 14th of Ond Alexander Ross, D. D. Professor of Divinity the preached a sermon before them, which breathed so nothing but slaughter and persecution. His text was a xxvi. 28, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian In discoursing upon it, he proposed, 1. To shew parties of our divided Zion. 2. The malignancy of national sin of schism. 3. The necessity of Episcopus supporting the main concerns of Christianity, and, last the application. How far a discourse of this nature sounded on this text, or agreeable to the spirit of Gospel, is easy for any to determine.

Address of the heritors of Stirlingshire,

The loyal heritors of Stirling shire, which was with the bounds of this Circuit, presented an humble add to the Judges, viz. the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lin and Lord Collingtoun; in which they declared their diness to contribute in the supply of three months yearly, for two years ensuing, to be paid at Martin and Whit sunday next, by equal portions, besides the ply granted by the current Parliament.

their bond of regularity, They likewise delivered a bond of regularity, under hands, in which they obliged themselves, families, nants, and subtenants, &c. to live regularly and order according to act of Parliament, to suppress all disord by taking and delivering the offenders to justice, their power, to give timely notice to the next make the power of the army, and concur with them

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rehending any fugitives, vagrant preachers, &c. to 1684. ment their own parish churches, unless lawfully hind, and partake of the Lord's-supper, unless they fated y their Minister of their present unfitness; to deliver to the Magistrates, such of their tenants or coers, &c. as shall refuse to partake of that sacrament, es they satisfy the Minister for their neglect; to bape and marry with none, but their own Parish Minister, hout their confent, to pay the cess above mention-, &c. &c. This was a most extensive bond. The der will make his own reflections upon it.

But the heriors of Renfrew and Lanerk were not so treatment able; for they generally refused the test, declined the of the hend of regularity, and so were obliged to endure the ritors of Lanerk, dships of a prison; not a few of them for the space &c. fixteen months. William Dalziel of Redmire died in fon, and, with difficulty, was fuffered to be buried, th his ancestors, in the Church-yard of Camnetban.

The treatment of some heritors in the parish of The heibwinnioch, was peculiar. About two Sabbathsbe fore ritors of Lords came to Glasgow, the Sheriff-officer stood at Lochchurch door, and ordered all the heritors of the pato appear before the Lords. Ro. Orr of Millbank, Allan portioner of Keers, John Orr of Jamphrey-ck, Ja. Ramsay portioner of Auchinhow, Jo. Orr of ills, Ro. Semple of Balgreen, Will. Orr portioner of am and William Blackburn of Lawristone, were, for eir not complying, obliged to walk on foot, through oft and fnow, with about 40 other prisoners, to Stirg; where, notwithstanding their fatigue and want of steshment, they were forced into three low vaults unground, without fire or light, or any thing to lie , or conveniency for easing nature; and had not some od people took compassion on them, by sending them aw, coals and victuals, their case had been still more retched. Being told, that they were to be fent to nerica, their friends gave them money; but the folers took it all from them. They continued at Stirg, till May next year, when they were taken out, two and two, and fent into the prison of the Canon-10, from whence fome of them were ordered to Dun-

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Thus much for these arbitrary Circuits, from which the reader will easily form a judgment of the state of the country. These were the golden days of the mild at ministration of CHARLES. II.

p. 581.

Wilfon's

defence,

p. 297,

&c.

Bishop Burnet gives but a very general account these infamous Courts, which he concludes by telling us, " That the feverity, which the Presbyterians for " merly had used, forcing all people to take their CO " VENANT, was now returned back on them, i " this TEST, that they were thus forced to take:" bu that the Presbyterians forced all people to take the Ca venant, is not matter of fact; for, in the covenanting period, there were many DEBARRED from the Covenant and Communion, and none who were thus debarred, were admitted, but only those who, after exact trial, were found to have given fufficient evidence of the fincerity of their repentance; and I find a modern author challenging his antagonist, to give an instance of any, that suffered either confiscation of goods, banishment or death, for their re fusing the Covenant; so that no comparison can be made here.

J. Lawfon and A. Wood executed.

I find, by the Cloud of Witnesses, that James Laws and Alex. Wood suffered at Glasgow, on the 24th of a tober this year. Whether it was in consequence of a sentence of the Circuit-court there, I know not. Their join testimony is in the above collection, to which I must be fer the reader.

W. Niven, &c. transported.

The Council at Edinburgh was not idle, during these things. On the 9th of October, W. Niven and John Hodge were ordered for transportation, because the would not take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, submit to prelacy, and own Bothwel-bridge to be rebellion. They allowed Physicians to visit James Hamilton of Aikenhead, though one might have expected, since not conformity was the only crime, for which he was confined they might have suffered him to go out upon bail.

State of the wanderers, The state of the west and south of Scotland was not dismal, and the old followers of Mr. Cargil, who has united in societies for general correspondence, and made choice of Mr. Renwick for their Minister, were in and pecia

cial manner exposed to the vengeance of the governent. The sea-ports were shut up, that they could not tout of the kingdom; they were purfued by the bloody d merciless soldiers; the whole country was sworn to fover them, and bound up from giving them meat ink, or lodging; fecret intelligencers were hired, to nd out their lurking places, and any who were inclined do them the least kindness. They were put from nder the protection of the laws of their country. No rms were allowed them, but a renouncing of their inciples, and swallowing those oaths, by which thounds were involved in the horrid guilt of perjury.

Under these dreadful circumstances, on the 15th of their reso-Rober, they met among themselves, along with Mr. mes Renwick their Minister, and proposed to emitt a charation, against the wickedness of the severities used their persecutors. Mr. Renwick was, at first, averse the proposal, fearing the sad effects it might proice; but confidering, that the necessity of the case adlitted no delay, he was prevailed with to confent, conr, and affift in the publication of it. The paper was awn up by him, and agreed to on the 28th, and the

llowing is a short extract of it.

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in el ecia be Apologetick Declaration and admonitory vindication of the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent intelligencers and informers.

A LBEIT we know, that the people of God, in Apologeall ages, have been cruelly persecuted, \_\_\_\_ tick declayet such hard usage—hath not, at least ought not, ration. to have abated the zeal of tender-hearted Christians, Vindic. in the profecution of holy and commanded du- 96, &c. ties; therefore as, hitherto, we have not been driven to lay aside necessary obliging duties, because of the viperous threatnings of men, --- fo we declare our hrm resolution of constant adherence to our covenants and engagements,—and—to our faithful declarations, wherein we have disowned the authority of CHARLES Stuart (not authority of God's institution, either among heathens or Christians) and all authority depending upon him, and wherein also we

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1684. " have declared WAR against bim and his accomplice therefore, --- we do hereby testify and declar that as we utterly deteft and abhor that hellish pri ciple of KILLING all, who differ in judgment and perfu " fion from us; --- fo we look upon it as a duty, -. to publish—unto the world, that, for as much we are firmly and really purposed not to injure or fend any whomfoever, but to purfue the end of o " covenants, in standing to the defence of our glorio work of reformation, and of our own lives; yet, h " fay) we do hereby declare unto all, that whofoer " ftretcheth forth their hands against us, -- by the

jective, they Say, is added, to between the bloodthirsty and the more moderate.

ding our blood actually, either by authoritative on \* This ad- " manding, fuch as \* bloody counsellors, --- especial "that called Justiciary, General of forces, Adjutan " Captains, Lieutenants, and all in civil and milita distinguish " power, who make it their work to embrue the

" hands in our blood; or by obeying fuch command " fuch as bloody militia-men, malicious troopers, & " likewife fuch Gentlemen and Commons, who-" ride and run, with the foresaid persons, to lay sa

of for us, or who deliver any of us into their hands, " the spilling of our blood; by inticing morally,

" ftirring up enemies to the taking away of our live --- by informing against us wickedly, wittingly willingly, fuch as viperous and malicious Billion

" and Curates, and all fuch fort of intelligencers, w raise the bue and cry after us; —we say

" and every one of fuch shall be reputed, by us, enemies to God and the covenanted work of reform

"tion, and punished as such, according to our por " and the degree of their offence, chiefly, if they h continue, after the publication of this our declaration

" obstinately and habitually, with malice to prod " against us any of the forefaid ways. --- Finally,

do hereby declare, that we abhor, condemn and

" charge any personal attempts, upon any pretext w " fomever, without previous deliberation, common

competent confent, without certain probation by ficient witnesses, the guilty persons confession, of

onotoriousness of the deeds themselves. Inhibit

also, and discharging any of our emissaries whatsom- 1684. ever, to stretch forth their hands, beyond the certainly known degrees of any of the foresaid persons their offences. Therefore, let all these foresaid persons be admonished of their hazard. cularly, all ye intelligencers, who, by your voluntary informations, endeavour to render us up to the enemies hands, that our blood may be shed, --- we defire you to take warning; -- for the finless necessity of felf-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land, and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished; -not because we are acted by a finful spirit of revenge for private and personal injuries, but mainly because, by our fall, reformation suffers damage. And as—we have here declared our purposes anent malicious injurers of us, fo—we heartily befeech and obtest all you, who wish well to Zion, to shew your good will towards us, by acting with us, for this great work of holding up the standart of our Lord Jesus Christ. Think not that, in any ways, you are called to lye by neutral and indifferent, especially in fuch a day; for we are a people, by holy covenants, dedicated unto the Lord. —And moreover, we are fully persuaded, that the Lord, who now hideth himself from the house of Facob, will suddenly appear, bring light out of darkness, perfect thrength out of weakness, and cause judgment return again to righteousness.-Given at the 28th of October, 1684.

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Let King JESUS reign, and all his enemies be scat-

They ordered copies, of this declaration, to be affixed a fufficient number of market croffes and church ors, on the 8th of next month, which was done acdingly.

In their informatory vindication, "they distinguish be-Remarks ten a declaration of a hostile war and martial insur- \*P. 41, 4 lion, and declaring a war of contradiction and opposition, and declaring a war of contradiction and opposition, and their own teles, "they looked upon that only to be declared Vol. II. S s against

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1684. against the tyrant, and such as should rife with him arms, mustering themselves under his banner, displaye against the cause and people of God, for destroying i covenanted work of reformation, and extirpating all t owners of it; but as for the latter, it was declared against all fuch, as any way strengthen, side with, acknowledge the faid tyrant, or any other in the li tyranny and usurpation civil or ecclesiastick, not that the would martially oppose and rise up against all such but that, by their profession, practice and testimony, the would contradict and oppose them and their profession and practice, as to that thing." And it appears, fro the declaration itself, that it was a war in their own fence, against those who maliciously and wickedly thirth for their blood. They declared their abhorrence of private revenge and affaffination. It is also plain, the though they disclaimed the tyrannical government that time, they still owned Magistracy and all law authority. How far it was prudent in them, to pu lish this threatning declaration, in that conjuncture, not for me to determine. However, this is certain that though it exasperated the managers to more gorous measures, yet it wanted not its effect; for flruck a terror among malignant informers and inte gencers; and the most virulent and persecuting cura of Nithsdale and Galloway thought proper to retire other places, for a time. And indeed their view, this paper, was not so much action, as the threatm of some people, they had to do with; and if any lo upon it as an unjustifiable piece of extremity, the ought to consider their circumstances, and the illegala barbarous oppressions they were under, in being manner killed all the day long, and counted as sheep for Saughter. I shall relate the confequences of this in the proper order.

Sufferings of W. Hanna and his fon.

Mean while, on the 26th of October, William Ham in the parish of Tunnergarth in Annandale, having be apprehended in England by Colonel Dacres, was received by one Sprinkel and his troop. He lay in irons at Dufries, and at last was confined in a dark pit under a Canongate prison. The soldier who brought him simall pittance of meat and drink, said, Seek mercy street.

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eaven, for we have none to give you, with other expref- 1684. ons of blasphemy. He continued in this place nine ays, and then was brought up to the prison, where he emained, till he was fent, with others, to Dunnotter. Is only crime was nonconformity, for which he had, the preceding years, fuffered greatly. His fon Wiliam, not 16 years of age, was in 1682 taken by a party f foldiers, though he was afflicted with an ague, and orced to walk a foot, for some days, along with them. Coming to the grave of one, who had been shot and uried in the fields, they fet him down on the grave, nd covering his face, threatned him with immediate eath, if he would not promise regularity, &c. The boy old them, God had fent him to the world, and had apcinted his time to go out of it, only he was determined to wear nothing he reckoned sinful. He was now in their ower, and they might do as they would. In the year 682, he was taken to Edinburgh, and, after feveral xaminations, was tortured with the thumbkins, and then baded with irons, which were fo strait, that his flesh welled out above them. And after a year and a half's apprisonment, he was transported and fold in Barbadoes. tis faid, he returned after the revolution, and was a Miifter in Scarborough.

The Orthodox Clergy were among the most dili-Sufferings ent informers, and their informations were fometimes of R. ollowed with peculiar cruelties, of which the treatment fone R. Watson, in the parish of Badernock, near Glasw, is a glaring instance. While this good man was onfined to his bed by a paralytick diforder, Mr. Stirling he Curate informed against him, as a disaffected peron; whereupon, about eight at night, a party came o his house, put one of his horses to a sledge, took im and the couch whereon he lay, and laid him across he fledge, with his head and feet lying over it; and, in hat posture, carried him to Glasgow that same night, hough the rain was exceeding great. But when Robert was examined, he was difmiffed, and the foldiers curft he Curate for putting them to fo much trouble. About he same time, Mr. James Gilchrist Chaplain to the Laird of Glorat, was made prisoner. But passing these things,

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1684. I shall now relate other unprecedented branches of n ranny and oppression in

## CHAP. XII.

Of the proceedings of the Council and Justiciary; the murders in the fields; the trial and execution of M Robert Baily of Jerviswood and others, with seven other branches of persecution to the death of Kin CHARLES II.

fined, &c.

Gentlemen HE persecution of this period is still on the grow ing hand, as will appear from a relation of ma ters of fact, in the order of time when they happened Many worthy and excellent Gentlemen suffered exceed ingly by exorbitant fines and long imprisonment, during the months of November and December. The most them, if not all, had been before the Circuits upon than indictments. Among others, these following suffered a ceedingly, viz. Sir J. Maxwel of Netherpollock, Bart. th Lairds of Craigends elder and younger, the Laird Douchal, the Laird of Fulwood, Z. Maxwel of Blawarth brother to Netherpollock, Mr. J. Pollock of Balgray, and Caldwel, Laird of Caldwel from the shire of Renfron The Lairds of Allantoun and Halcraig, Mr. Andrewa terwards Sir Andrew Kennedy of Clowburn, the Lairds Overtoun, Hartwood, Browncastle and Bradisholm, James Young Chamberlain of Evandale, Mr. John Bannanin of Corebouse, after the revolution Minister at Lanerk, an Bannantyne of Craigmuir from the shire of Lanerk. S James Montgomery of Skelmorly, Sir Adam Whiteford, Cu ning ham of Ashen-yards, and others from the shire of Am Mr. Hugh Maxwel of Dalfwintoun, and the Laird There wer Balmagechan from Dumfries and Galloway. other Gentlemen exorbitantly fined for the same can with these now mentioned, but whether at this preci time, my author cannot fay, as the Lairds of Ridde Greenbead, Wall, and Chatto, Lord Cranstoun, Sir Wi hiam Scot of Harden, senior and junior. The manager Wante

nted to finger their estates; and as they had nothing lay to their charge but nonconformity, false indictments re trumpt up against them, and the TEST, contrary law, was pressed upon them, which they knew they ould not take; and therefore they were thus illegally ed, and several of them suffered a tedious imprinment.

On the 8th of November, the apologetical declaration 311, &c.) was fixed on several church-doors in Niths-

k, Galloway, Air and Lanerkshire.

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On the 11th, J. Hutchison portioner in Newbottle, was, J. Hutabsence, condemned to be executed, for being at Pentland chison d Bothwel, when apprehended. The time and place to condemnappointed by the Council. The same day, copies of the ove declaration were brought to the Council, by which y were exasperated to the last degree; so that, instead acting like grave and folid Counsellors, they discoted themselves to be under the influence of a spirit of ge and cruelty; for not only they who were taken up suspicion, but even they, who were already in pri-, were barbarously used on this very account.

The fame day, about fix in the evening, W. Niven W. Niith (p.310) in the parish of Eastwood, and several others, ven. re brought from the Iron-house before the Council or ir Committee; and being interrogated by the Chanor, whether they knew any thing of the treasonable pers, that had been affixed to the church-doors; declared y did not. Then they were asked, if they owned matter of them, and answered, they knew nothing out them, and so could neither own nor disown them. e clerk, upon this, read the declaration, as fast as he ld. Upon which, they declared, they could make no gment of it, upon hearing it in such a manner. ey were again required to disown it upon the hest pains. They answered, they had no share in it, could not take upon them to judge of what no ys concerned them. After they were removed a little, y were called in, and told they were fentenced to die t night, at ten o'clock; but something came in the , that prevented the execution of this unaccount-

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On the 13th, John Semple of Craigthorn in the pa 1684. of Glasford, was taken and brought before the Coun J. Semple. on suspicion of being accessary to the above apologa declaration, and was ordered immediately to be mined by the Thumb-screw, the boots, or both, which

endured; and the torture was repeated next day. the faid 13th, Robert Goodwin and other prison They decla were brought before them on fuspicion.

See his they knew nothing of it. When it was read to the letter in the Cloud in a hurry, they were ordered folemaly to fwear, t of Witthey neither adhered to it, nor knew the authors of nesses, Robert declared in the name of the rest, that they no \$. 312. heard it till now, and knew nothing about the form

> of it; but because they would not swear, they were mediately fent to the Iron bouse.

John Semple, &c. executed.

On the 14th, John Semple, John Watt, and Gal Thomson, were condemned and executed at the lowlee, because they owned, or refused to disown, above mentioned paper. This was quick work; being but a few hours between their fentence and The poor men were fcarce suffered to p The spectators were surrounded by the soldiers, and fuling to answer, upon oath, the questions put to the ten or twelve were carried from the scaffold to pri nay, because three coffins were seen carrying down ftreet, to receive their bodies, the Council ordered William Pater son to make enquiry, by whom they made.

T. Aber-Crombie.

Next day, Thomas Abercrombie in the parish of I was apprehended, at midnight, in his own house, carried away prisoner, without any cause affigned. house was rifled by the soldiers; and it cost him ag deal of money, before he got off. His losses before and fufferings afterwards, were not small.

On the 20th, the Advocate was ordered to profe John Porterfield of Douchal for high treason, the they had no more to lay to his charge than to the fome of the rest (p. 316) but this was done to

them into their measures.

The fame day, Thomas Kennoway (p. 130) and Duncan Stuart were both killed by persons unknown

Kennoway and Stuart ailled at Swine Abbay.

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ine-Abbay in the parish of Living stone. I cannot re- 1684. e the circumstances, as none were present but the ors, who were never apprehended. The focieties were far from approving this, that they refused to admit ne persons among them, whom they suspected to be ncerned in it; all fuch affaffinations being contrary to eir apologetical declaration. It is indeed certain, that mnoway was one of the greatest oppressors, and a terto the country. I shall not trouble the reader with riculars. The widows of these two were, by the ouncil, recommended to the treasury for charity.

A strict search was ordered to be made, through the Ast for ecity of Edinburgh, for those concerned in the murder, killing in d the above mentioned declaration. The Council the fields. en made their bloody act, empowering the foldiers to I, in the fields, all who would not answer their queries. his was fuch an unprecedented step, that none could leve it, was it not recorded in their own registers to eir everlasting disgrace. Thus the matter stands.

Apud Edinburgh, November 22, 1684. Sederunt Chancellor, Register, Advocate, &c.

"The query under-written, proposed by the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-council, to the Lords of his Majesty's Council and Session, with their answer, is

ordered to be recorded."

Query, "Whether any of his Majesty's subjects, being questioned by his Majesty's Judges or Commislioners, if they own a late proclamation, in fo far as it declares war against his facred Majesty, and afferts, that it is lawful to kill all those who are employed by his Majesty, refusing to answer upon oath, are thereby guilty of high treason, and art and part in the said declaration?"

Answer, " It is the unanimous opinion of the Lords of Council and Session that a \* libel, in the terms \* indiaof the faid query, is relevant to infer the crime of ment. treason, as art and part of the said treasonable declaration, against the refusers." Subscribed by Perth ancellor, David Falconer, George Mackenzie, &c.

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"It being put to the vote in Council, whether or any person, who owns, or does not disown the

" traiterous declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, should be immediately killed before

witnesses, and the person or persons, who are

have instructions from the Council for that effect

" Carried in the affirmative.

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy-council

"hereby ordain any person, who owns, or will a disown the late treasonable declaration, upon on

" whether they have arms or not, to be immediate

put to death; this being always done in prefer

of two witnesses, and the person or persons havi

Remarks.

By the answer to the query, the refusers were to indicted, but by this act of Council, they are to be in mediately put to death, without any indictment: he far then the act is founded on the answer, must be ferred to those learned in the law. And how Sir Gen Mackenzie had the front to vindicate this, is very suprizing. As for the Commissioners spoke of, this certain, that Majors, Captains, and even soldiers, put tended to act by virtue of it, and how far they we encouraged by it, must be left with the reader.

Commisfion and instructi-

The day after this bloody act, the Council gave commission to Lord Living stone, Lord Ross, Lord so phichen, &c. or any five of them, to try, judge, a execute in the parish, where Kennoway and Stuart we murdered; and together with the commission, instructions were given to the forces sent to the parishes of I wing stone, Bathgate, Torphichen and Calders, of while I give the following abbreviate, "You shall convocate all the inhabitants—above 14 years of age in the

" parishes of Living stone, &c. and examine every por fon; and after the oath of abjuration [of which in

" place] fuch as take the oath you shall dismis, und you suspect their guilt. And if any own the la

traiterous declaration or affaffination, you shall et

" cute them by military execution on the place. A

" fuch as refuse to answer or \* depone, or will a

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fantly, call fifteen men as a Jury, and let them judge them, and instantly execute the sentence of death on such as do resuse to disown, or to answer to the questions before the said Jury.—— And as to the families of such as you thus condemn and execute, you shall make prisoners of all persons in their families, above the age of 12 years in order to transportation.
——For all which this shall be warrant to you, and all officers and soldiers employed by you." Subscribed Perth Chancellor, Douglass, Balcarras, George Maczie, &c.

There were several other instructions. I have only gled out these, that the reader may see, that the murs in the fields, which were committed after this, had we the sanction of authority; neither shall I detain m by any reslections of mine, but leave him to his

The above mentioned Judges sat first at Livingstone, Manner of the many questions were put to several people, con-examining the King's authority, their keeping the church, the people other things quite foreign to the designed enquiry. The soldiers sat on horseback, with their swords drawn, designed the country people in the fields. The designed and infirm, who had not been from their houses a many years, were forced to attend. And they who had not walk, were brought out on horseback; nay, ey who could not sit, says my author, were tied to be another on horseback, and none were permitted to be home, till they were examined by the Judges or rater significants. But I pass these things.

On the 25th, the Council approved of the following Oath of aught of the Oath of ABJURATION, to be offered to abjuration they or their Commissioners should think fit.

"I A. B. do hereby abhor, renounce and disown, in the presence of the Almighty God, the presended declaration of war, lately affixed at several parish churches in so far as it declares a war against his Sacred Majesty, and afferts, that it is lawful to kill such as serve his Majesty in church, state, army or country, or such as act against the authors of the Vol. II.

Tt "presended"

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1684. " pretended declaration, now shewn to me. And do hereby utterly renounce, and disown the villano

authors thereof, who did, as they call it, statute a ordain the same, and what is therein mentioned. An

I fwear, I shall never assist the authors of the sa

or pretended declaration, or their emissaries or adherent in any point of punishing, killing, or making of wa " any manner of way, as I shall answer to GOD.

This was the first form of the Abjuration. We sha find it much curtailed afterwards, and therefore I ha make no remarks on it here.

Act concerning elections.

Next day, the Council made an act, ordering to elections to be made, for the next Session of Parliamen which was to meet in March next, in the room those, who were disqualified by an act of the last Session (my author thinks it was the test-act) and by their bein under process for treason. As the Parliament was fit, it was but proper, that the members should be fed as would purfue the measures of the Ministry.

State of ed Ministers.

At last, the design against all the indulged Minister the indulg- was accomplished; for, on the 27th of November, the Council ordered them all to be ejected, because they ha not kept their instructions (vol. I. p. 324, 325) and som of them had not observed the fast appointed in Septe ber last; and by the instructions given to the Commi floners in different shires, they were obliged, Decemb the 2d, to give bond not to exercise any part of their m niftry in Scotland. Some of them had, before this, bet imprisoned, because they would not comply with this as Mr. Anthony Murray, and Mr. J. Curry. The revo Mr. John Carstairs, perceiving this storm a coming wrote to the Chancellor for his Lordship's pass to lear Scotland. He died foon after, and fo got out of the reach of his enemies. Not a few were imprisoned after this, as Mr. Ralph Rogers, Mr. William Tullidaff, an Mr. Robert Boyd, Mr. Robert Duncanson, and M Duncan Campbel, Mr. John Greg, Mr. James Hutchifa Mr. Andrew Millar, Mr. Peter Kid, Mr. John Kin (p. 299, 300) Mr. Walter Mowat, &c. There were by few that complied. Thus the Prelates got rid of those who were great eye-fores to them.

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On the 28th, the Gentlemen from Renfrew (p. 317) 1684. cept the Laird of Douchal, were summoned to appear fore the Council on the 2d of December next. Next day, J. Porterfield of Douchal was indicted be- J. Porterrethe Justiciary for high treason, because he did not re- field of al Sir John Cochran's proposal, for charity to Argyle, Douchal d had converfed with his own brother, who had been ed. feited for the affair of Pentland, and had harboured e George Holmes, who had been at Bothwel. He uned, that Sir John Cochran had asked fifry pounds, way of charity, to the Earl of Argyle; but that the oposal was made with so much indifference, that he d not think it worth his while to reveal it. As for inversing with his brother, he thought there was no

rm in it, because some years after Pentland, he had red peaceably in the thire of Renfrew, and had conried with his Majesty's subjects of all ranks, such as hyy-councellors, the Sheriff of the shire, and officers the army; from whence it was generally concluded, at he was indemnified, &c. As to George Holmes, he clared, that when ever he understood, that his name as in the porteous-roll of the Court of Glasgow, 1679, ough he was no tenant of his, he obliged his faher to put him off his ground; that the said Holmes had terwards made up his matters, and lifted himself a soler in the King's army. But though this was the plain ate of the case, yet he was brought in guilty of tream, and condemned to be executed, when and where he King should appoint.

This sentence drew compassion and tears from many Remarks. f the spectators, to behold such a good old man meet ith so much injustice; and it is said, that even Sir large Mackenzie threw the blame of this from himself, nd called this Gentleman, Lord Melford's Martyr. he truth is, Melford had a previous promise of his flate. Such instances as this, says my author, verified he black character, which a person of merit and hoour, gave him of this period. "This was a time, when stretches of obsolete laws, knights of the post, half or no probation, malicious informers, scandalous rogues and miscreants were the government's tools

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VOL. " to ruin men of estates, honour and principle." 1684. would further observe, that the day before his trial, Lords of Council and Session gave their judgme of this Gentleman's case, viz. That the concealing

\* viz. of not revealing in the \* case foresaid, is treason; so the Sir John how far the same persons could, in equity, give the Cochran's judgment over again, in the same cause, I must les charity to to those learned in the law. This Gentleman was n executed; however, he was obliged to give fecurity Argyle.

the Earl of Melford for 50000 merks, and a gratuity 100 guineas to his Lady. The half of the fum was pa to him, though Douchal was his cousin. The revol tion prevented the payment of the other half. The pi cipal informer against him was John Maxwel of On mains, a neighbour and relation, who had no other w of attoning for the crimes of adultery, &c. but by tun ing informer. I shall only add, that this Maxwel can to ruin, while the family of Douchal was not only stored to its own paternal inheritance, but also m chased the estate of the wicked informer.

Exorbitunt fines.

On the 2d of December, Sir John Maxwel of Nether pollock, and other Gentlemen of Renfrew, were fined the following fums, viz.

Sir John Maxwel of Netherpollock 8000 Alexander and William Cunningbam of 6000 Craigends, elder and younger, John Caldwell Laird of Caldwell 500 Zacharias Maxwel Portioner of Bla IIII warthil, Alexander Porterfield of Fulwood, 3333 Mr. James Pollock of Balgray, 833

These sums, being English money, 19777 15 make in all,

The Laird of Caldwell and Zacharias Maxwell we ordered to be prisoners for life, besides the payment their fine. They were pleased to make some abateme of the fines of the rest; thus Sir John Maxwel was pay 5000 l. the Lairds of Craigends 4000; the La of Fulwood 1666 l. 13 s. 4d. and the Laird of Bals

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of sterling. The greatest crimes, for which these ntlemen were fined in this exorbitant manner, were in not attending ordinances in their own parish with, their hearing Presbyterian Ministers, and preded converse with rebels. It was falsely alledged, at they had contributed money to the murderers of the imate. For the like crimes, the following Gentlem were fined, viz.

Fined by the Council.	l.	s.	d.
Stuart of Allantoun,	666	13	4
W. Hamilton of Overtoun,	500	0	0
7. Young Chamberlain of Evandale,	505	11	1 3
7. Muirhead of Bradisholm, -	222	4	53
Mr. J. Hamilton of Halcraig, -	666	13	4
Mr. A. Kennedy of Clowburn, -	666	13	4
Mr. 7. Stuart of Hartwood, -	333	6	8
7. Bannantyne of Craigmuir, -	111	2	2 3
G. Hamilton of Browncastle, ——	111	2	2 3
	3983	6	8
Sheriffs Fines.	l.	s.	d.
Laird of Riddel,	4333	6	8
— of Greenhead, —	2000	0	0
— of Chatto,	1666	13	4
Lord Cranstoun,	1500	0	0
Sir W. Scot of Harden,	2944	8	103
Sir W. Scot of Harden, junr	3500	0	0
Laird of Wall,	1111	2	2 3
			0.3

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These Sheriff sines were all consistenced by the Council, Remarks. and some of the Councellors shared largely in the spoils these constructed criminals. Sir George Mackenzie the dvocate got 1500 l. of Sir William Scot of Harden's ne. The Duke of Gordon and the Marquis of Athol ared the 3500 l. Sterl. of Sir Will. Scot of Harden mior's fine between them. I shall leave the reader to take his own reslections on these proceedings, when I we only observed, that none of these Gentlemen had wer declared against the government, that then was, tho

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perhaps few had cause to stand up for it, unless it were the plunderers of those, who were more righteous themselves.

Council's letter about an indemnity.

On the faid 2d of December, the Council fent ale to the Commissioners of the several districts, in the for and west shires, signifying, that, as the King had gran an Indemnity on the 26th of February last, they though proper to fend instructions relating to it. But why mention was made of this indemnity till now, is not But the instructions concerning be accounted for. rendered it altogether useless; since none were to he the benefit of it, but those, that would swear the oath abjuration (p. 321, 322) and that they would no take arms against the King or any commissioned him, upon any pretence whatfoever. Besides, it only to be of use to those under the degree of heiting liferenters, &c. and vagrant preachers, by which dulged Ministers and preachers, not licensed according to law, were to be understood; so that the instruction rendered the indemnity of no use.

Council's thanks to Judge Jeffreys.

On the 3d, the Council recommended to the Advance to return their thanks to Judge Jeffreys, for kind concurrence with them, against those permits rogues and villains, who disturbed the publick per and to desire him to order hiding and sugitive Scots to be apprehended and delivered up, on the Scots borde to such as should be appointed to receive them, It a not surprize the reader to see a correspondence betwee bloody Jeffreys, and these bloody Scots Inquisitors; subjects of a feather flock together.

Process of forfeiture enjoined.

The same day, they ordered the Advocate to raise process of forseiture before the ensuing Parliament, up a charge of sixty days, against the following person viz. Denbolm of Westshiels, Stuart of Cultness, Sir so Cochran of Ochiltree, James Stuart son to Sir James Start of Goodtrees, the Lord Melvil, Sir Patrick Hums Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, Andrew Flesh of Saltoun, Hume of Bassenden, the Heirs of Mr. Mathelate Clerk of the Justice-court, the heirs to the late E of Lowdon, Thomas Hay of Park, Sir James Dalrym of Stair, Walter Lockhart of Kirktoun, Montgomeric Lansbar

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ghaw, John Weir of Newtoun, Mr. Gil. Eliot 1684. er in Edinburgh, Campbel of Ardkinglass, Cesnock and younger, and ferviswood. We shall meet them again in their proper place, and find that the mentioned Gentleman was hurried off the stage bethat time; for the infatiable thirst of the managers his blood must be satisfied.

on the 4th, not thinking the many commissions, for Commisly given, sufficient for suppressing the poor sufferers, fion to om they branded with the odious names of rogues Drumvillains, the Council constituted Lieutenant-General mond. mmond a Justice of Peace, and impowered him to air to the fouth and west shires, and hold Courts of liciary, and to take along with him a fufficient num. of the forces, in order to purfue and apprehend the h and their abettors, that they might be brought to , and to pass sentence upon them, as he should see fe. They likewise ordered him to quarter the fols, and fettle garifons, where he should find it expent, especially in Lanerkshire. At the same time, they te to the Duke of Hamilton, acquainting him with this, and defiring his Grace, to affemble the Comlioners, who were proper to provide the garifons

hall necessaries. Besides these powers to the Lieutenant General, other to the missions were given to such private persons, as Laird of ald undertake them; particularly, William Hamilton Crbifrd of Orbistoun had a commission on the 8th of Deber " to levy 200 Highlandmen of the shire of Dumbarton, and with them, or any part of them, as oft as our service shall require, to march into any part of these shires, and pursue, take, and apprehend the \* Dumfaid rebels, and fugitives, &c. and their refetters, bartoun and commit them to some sirmance or ward, till they frew. be legally tried. And in case any of the said persons e in arms, refifting and refusing to be taken, we do hereby impower the faid Orbiston, &c. to kill, wound and destroy them; and deliver such of these, as shall te taken alive, to their next commissioned officer, to be brought in prisoners to—Edinburgh.— And -we authorize the faid Laird of Orbistoun, to em-

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" ploy spies and intelligencers, to go in company wi the said rebels and sugitives, as if they were in the

" party, the better to discover where they haunt a are resett.—— As also, with full power to the sa

Orbistoun, to take and apprehend the persons of outed Ministers, who shall be found within, or reso

" to, the said shires, and send them in prisoners

" Edinburgh," &c.

The reader may make his own reflections here, at judge what state the shires must be in, when they we to be exposed to the discipline of Highland reformer Orbistoun was enjoined indeed to see that his men shou commit no disorders: but how these could be prevented, when such extensive powers were given, is had to conceive.

Several executed.

On the said 8th of December, George Jackson (p.27) Thomas Wood, Alexander Heriot, James Graham, at Thomas Robertson, together with Patrick Cunningha John Watt, James Kirkwood, Alexander Valange, at James Glover, were indicted for the Apologetick Declaration, because they owned, or refused to disown the sapper, upon oath. The last five, together with Ak Heriot, solemnly renounced the said declaration at the bar, and the process against them was dropt; but the rest were next day sound guilty, and ordered to be take that very day to the Gallowlee, between two and sive the asternoon, and there to be hanged.

G. Jackfon. George Jackson had been a considerable time in priso and, upon being asked, if he owned the declaration, at that he owned it, as far as it was agreeable to the wo of God, but allowed of no murder.

T. Wood.

Thomas Wood was taken at the rescue of Enterto path (p.282, 283) and being asked, if he adhered to the declaration, answered, that he did not understand it, to clerk read it so fast; but, said they, the Covenants in it, do you adhere to these? He answered, I do.

James Graham taylor in Corsmichael in Galloway, wapprehended by Claverhouse and a party in the hig way; they had nothing to lay to his charge; but sing a Bible in his pocket, they looked upon that a sure evidence of Disloyalty: they hurried him so

ce to place. He was put in the irons at Dumfries, 1684. ause he would not answer their questions. He was at brought to Edinburgh, where, upon refusing to dere his opinion concerning the declaration, he was conmned and executed with the rest. His testimony is in

Cloud of Witnesses.

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Thomas Robert son was imprisoned at Newcastle for re-Thomas ing the English oaths. He made his escape, and got Robert-Edinburgh, where he was apprehended last month, fon. d brought before the Council, by whom he was foon fnared by their questions. From his last testimony, ich is in the Cloud of Witnesses, it appears, that he d formerly been a hearer of the Curates; but upon ing brought to hear one of the Presbyterian Ministers, thimpressions were made upon him, that he never lowed them any more. He declared his adherence to d new Testament, the work of reformation, once gloous in the land, &c. and his aversion to all the defecons, that had been carried on for several years, and ed with great peace and joy; for though he was, for me time, under fearful apprehensions of death, yet he tover all thefe. I need only observe, that not one these persons could have been concerned in the apolotical-declaration; and yet, upon that very score of reling to dislown IT, they were put to death.

Two days after this execution, the Duke of Gordon's Duke of tent for being Chancellor, was read and recorded. Gordon, Thether he was then a profest Papist, I know not; lor. It soon after, he certainly was, and that set were now

etting in, as fast as conveniently could be done.

On the 16th, the Advocate was ordered to prosecute Earl of Talter Earl of Tarras for high treason. Some Tarras's me after he had been brought in prisoner, he con-confession. fled, "that, about the time, Sir John Cochran and Comissary Munro got their commission for the Carolina Isiness, Mr. Baily of Ferviswood desired him to speak the Commissary to get him added to the said comission; and that Jerviswood told him, he was going London however, on his own charges; but that the arolina affair was only a pretence, the true defign be-VOL. II.

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VOL. ing to press the people of England, who could don thing but talk, to go more effectually about the busine and do fomething." He likewise confessed, "that ? vifwood fettled a correspondence with him, for giving account of what should pass between the country-par in England, and the Scotsmen there; and that Ferviswa told him, that the only way, for fecuring the protest religion, was for the King, to suffer the Parliament fit, and the Bill of exclusion to pass; which the Ki might be induced to, if the Parliament took sharp a brisk measures." He further confessed, " that Mr. Martin came to Torwoodlee's house in May, 1683, a brought an unsubscribed letter to the Lady Tarr which he knew to be written by Jerviswood, then London, and that Mr. Martin told him, that things England were in great disorder, and were like to con to a height, and that the country-party were confiden on methods for securing the protestant religion; and the the late Earl of Argyle was to get 10000 l. sterl, when our Scots people fought 30000l. which was to be fent or to Holland, to provide arms; and the faid Earl was land with those arms in the West-bighlands of Scotlan and that Jerviswood was to be sent over with t The rest of his confession related to somed courses, concerning the methods most proper to be take for the support of the protestant religion; but nothing concerning any defign upon the person of either t King or his brother. The Earl's trial was put of January next, that he might not be under fenten when brought as a witness against Ferviswood, who trial was now drawing near.

Six men murdered by Claverhouse.

On the 18th of December, Claverbouse came with party to the water of Dee in Galloway, and surprized of the lurking people at Auchineloy, and ordered Rob Fergusson and James Macmichan from Nithsdale, a Robert Stuart and John Grier from Galloway, to be ft instantly. After they were buried, their graves a cossins were uncovered by a party sent by Claverbon and continued so for four days. James Macmicha body was taken up and hung upon a tree. Claverbo carried the other two, viz. Robert Smith in the parish Glencait

mairn, and Robert Hunter, to Kirkcudbright, surh- 1684. med a fort of a Jury, and hanged them there. There re other two in company with these six; but they ppily escaped. However, the soldiers being informed ahouse they had gone into, marched thither, took all y found in it prisoners, and burnt the house to the ound.

I am now come to the infamous trial and execution Jervif-Mr. Baily of Jerviswood (p. 287, 292.) It might have wood's en thought, that when he was fined in the fum of trial, 001. sterl. he had received his final sentence; but he sfill kept shut up, and denied all attendance or asance. "He seemed all the while, says Bishop Burnet, p. 586. composed, and even so chearful, that his behaviour oked like the reviving of the spirit of the noblest of

e old Greeks or Romans, or rather of the primitive ristians and first Martyrs in those best days of the urch; but the DUKE was not fatisfied with all this: the Ministry applied their arts to Tarras and the her prisoners, threatning them with all the extremities milery, if they would not witness treasonable matter ainst Baily. They also practised on their wives, and, ghtening them, set them on their husbands." The reader sfeen the confession of Tarras, as far as it relates to

is worthy Gentleman.

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Jeviswood received his indictment on the 22d of De- bis indictwher, and next day, petitioned for more time; but no ment. gard was paid to it. He was then, in a dying contion, and could not have lived many days. However, was carried to the bar of the Justiciary, in his ght-gown, attended by his fifter, who, feveral times, we him cordials; and not being able to stand, was liged to fit on a stool. His indictment bore, in geral, his carrying on a correspondence, to debar his oyal Highness the King's only brother from the right

fuccession. Though his Advocates pled that he ought not pass the knowledge of an \* Affize, because he had not \* July. ta summons in fifteen days, and so had not time to fer an exculpation, or vindication, and that he had eady been judged, for what was contained in the indictment; U 11 2

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1684. dictment; yet all pleas were rejected; and he was broug to his trial. The Earl of Tarrass was admitted an en fession.

dence, though he was himself under process of high tre fon. His deposition was much the same with his co The depositions of Alexander Munro of Bu crosts, James Murray of Philiphaugh, Hugh Scot Gallowshiels are, at large, in the State-Trials. The amounted to this, that Jerviswood, being in hazard, all the nation was, of oppression, after the unaccountab

decision in Blackwood's case (p.208,209) went up to La

don, and converfed with feveral, concerning what w

Vol. III. p. 366,

> proper for inducing the King, to exclude a popull in ceffor, and about fending money to Argyle, &c. but delign against the King's life was known to any them. Bishop Burnet says, they swelled up the mat beyond the truth, yet all did not amount to a fi

So the Ministry being afraid, that Jury a might not

Mr. Carflairs vindicated.

p. 587.

fo easy, as they expected, ordered Carstairs's confession to be read in Court, not as an evidence (for that h been promised him not to be done) but as that whi would fully fatisfy the Jury, and dispose them to belie the witnesses:" but as he had a promise, that nothing he faid should be brought in prejudice to any, direct or indirectly on his trial, it must be left with the read whether the reading his confession, to support the e dence against Jerviswood, was not a breach of the cond tions, given to Mr. Carstairs. Besides, the title give to Mr. Carstairs's confession, viz. The Deposition of M William Carstairs, when he was examined before the Lor of Secret Committee, given in by him, and renewed, up oath, upon the 22d of December, 1684, in presence of Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, seems to intimate that he had voluntarily renewed his deposition on t 22d of December, with an eye to Jerviswood's trial, the which nothing is more injurious to this worthy Minister The case was this; Mr. Carstairs, being their prisons was brought to Edinburgh, a few days before fert roood's trial, and was importuned to be a witness again his friend, which he rejected with abhorrence; and, the same time, put them in mind of the conditions fo mei

State Trials, wol. III. 371.

rly granted him, and of the breach of faith in this 1684.

oposal. He was next urged, only to appear before

Justiciary, at a time when Jervi fwood was not prein, and judicially own, that he had emitted the depoions signed by his own hand. This he also refused;
the was never before the Council, only when the
mancellor, Queensberry, and some others, produced the
ignal papers, which he had formerly signed, he owned
em, and, at the same time, reminded them of the
mer conditions. How then it came, that, in the foredtitle, it should be said, that he renewed his deposions, in presence of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy
mucil, on the 22d of December, must be left with the
ader.

The Advocate, after the witnesses were examined, d Mr. Carstairs's confession was read, together with e examinations of Mr. Shepherd, and Mr. Zachary Ibid. p. mrn, made a most virulent speech to the Jury (which 374, &c. e reader will find in the State Trials) wherein he agavated every thing to the highest degree. Jervisad looking him broad in the face, appeared exceedgly troubled. When Sir George had done, he had tetty to speak, and, among other things, said, "There is one thing, which vexes me extremely, and wherein I am injured to the utmost degree; and that is, for a PLOT to cut off the KING and his Royal Highness; and that I fat up nights, to form a declaration, to palliate or justify such a villany. I am, in probability, to appear, in some hours, before the tribunal of the great Judge; and, in presence of your Lordships, and all here, I folemnly declare, that never was I prompted, or privy to any such thing; and that I abhor and detest all thoughts and principles, for touching the life and blood of his facred Majesty, or his Royal Brother. I was ever for monarchical government." Then looking directly on the Advote, he faid, "My Lord, I think it very strange, you charge me with fuch abominable things; you may remember, that, when you came to me in prison, you told me, fuch things were laid to my charge, but you did not believe them. How then, my Lord, come you to lay fuch a stain upon me, with so much vio-

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" lence? Are you now convinced in your conscience "that I am more guilty than before? You may n " member what paffed betwixt us in the prison, The whole audience fixed their Eyes upon the Adve cate, who was in no fmall confusion, and faid, " 70 viswood, I own what you fay, my thoughts then we as a private man; but what I fay here is by special " direction of the Privy-Council." And pointing to \$ William Paterson the Clerk, added, "he knows my o " ders." Jerviswood replied, "Well, if your Lordhi " has one conscience for yourself, and another for the " Council, I pray God forgive you, I do." Then turning to the Justice-General, said, My Lord, I troub your Lordships no further.

bis sentence,

Next morning, the 24th of December, the Jun brought him in guilty, and the Lords condemned him to be hanged at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, betwee two and four that afternoon, his head to be cut off, an fixed on the Nether bow-port, and his body to be qua tered; one of his quarters to be put on the Tolbook Jedburgh, another on that of Lanerk, and a third of that of Air, and the fourth on that of Glasgow, & When this fentence was passed, he said, My Lords, t time is short, the sentence is sharp; but I thank my Go who bath made me as fit to die, as ye are to live.

bis behaexecution.

He was then fent back to his apartment in the prilot viour and and leaning on the bed, he fell into a rapture of joy at the affured prospect of a blessed eternity. And bein asked, after a short silence, how he did, he answered Never better; and in a few hours, I shall be well beyon all conception; they are going to fend me, in pieces a quarters, through the country. They may hag and he my body, as they please; but I know assuredly, nothing ha be lost; but all these my members shall be wonderfully & thered, and made like Christ's glorious Body. He was n able to go up the ladder without support. When on he began to say, My faint zeal for the protestant religi bath brought me to this; but the drums interrupte My author was told, that his quarters lay, thr weeks, in the Thieves-hole, before they were disposed according to the fentence. H

He prepared a speech to be delivered at the scaffold, 1684. was hindered. However, he left copies of it with sfriends. My author has inserted it. He solemnly sum of his clared, that he was never conscious to any conspiy against the life of the King or the Duke, or to y plot, for subverting the government; and that he ver had any other intention, in all his publick aparances, but the preservation of the protestant religion, efafety of the King's person, the continuation of the ment government, the redressing of grievances, the lieving the oppressed, and putting a stop to the shedng of blood. In short, it breathes a spirit of true piety; declared he died a member of the Church of Scotnd, in its best and purest times, under PRESBYTERY, da hater of popish idolatry and superstition. He exessed his fears, that Popery would be just ready to tak in upon us. "It feems, says be, the generation is fitted for it, and all the engines of hell have been made use of, to debauch the consciences of people. ----Men are compelled to take CONTRADIC-TORY oatks, that they may believe things, that have a contradiction in them." And after bewailing the deafe of the Church of Scotland, at that time, he conuded with these words, "I go, with joy, to HIM, who is the Joy and Bridegroom of my foul, to HIM, who is the Saviour and Redeemer of my Soul. I go with rejoicing, to the God of my life, to my portion and inheritance, to the husband of my foul, Come, LORD."

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Thus, fays the Historian of his own Times, "a learn-Burnet, and a worthy Gentleman, after twenty months hard p. 587age, was brought to such a death, in a way so full, in
the steps of it, of the spirit and practice of the Courts
inquisition, that one is tempted to think, that the meods taken in it, were suggested by one well studied, if
at practised in them. The only excuse, that ever was
steended for this infamous prosecution, was, that they were
the was guilty, and that the whole secret of the nestation, between the two kingdoms, was trusted to
m; and since he would not discover it, all methods
solutions that the destroy him; not considering what a

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VOL. precedent they made on this occasion." But I must no go on to other things.

Lady Cavers releafed.

The fame day that fervifwood was executed, Lady Cavers (p. 194) was ordered to be released, upo her paying her fine. This excellent Lady had now be in prison above two years, for no other crime but no conformity; and had it not been for her fon, who can home this year, she had still continued in confinement The treatment her tenants met with, during her imp fonment, rendered them incapable of paying her at rent; so that she was deprived of the use of any mean for her livelihood and subsistance, though she had fmall numerous family. She had represented her case a humble and moving petition to the Council; but the paid no regard to it, till her fon Sir Willam Douglass Cavers presented another petition, praying, that s might be fuffered to come to her friends and relation and that they would receive bim as bail for her living regularly, or, within three months after the date of h liberation, depart the kingdom, and not return without fpecial allowance. They gave orders for her being at liberty, but would not part with her extravagant in I need make no reflections on this.

Scot of Pitlochie \* released.

The same day, Mr. George Scot of Pitlochie (p. 2) was let out of the Bass, upon promise to go tot plantations. The occasion of his being imprisoned that I know not. We shall meet with him again next ye Lady Colvil was the same day allowed a better room the prison, to which she had been confined for refusing to pay an extravagant fine.

At last, on the 30th of December, the Council pu lished a proclamation against the Apologetical Declar tion (p. 311, &c.) the tenor of which is as follow

viz.

" CHARLES, &c.

Proclama- " ORASMUCH as several insolent and desper REBELS, having frequently refused the reiteral Apologe of offers of our clemency, have of late affociated the tical De- " felves, under a pretended form of Government, in claration. " cieties, fellowships, &c. and have, in their meetings,

last pulled off the mask, under which they formely en- 1684. deavoured to difguife their BLOODY and execrable principles, and-declared, in a late treasonable paper, --- entitled, The Apologetical, &c. that they have disowned us, and our authority, and have declared war against us; and, from that, do infer, that it is a duty to kill and murder all, who do, any manner of way, ferve us, or bear charge under us, &c. Therefore we, with the advice, &c. do. hereby, ordain, that whofoever shall own the faid most execrable——declaration, or assassinations therein mentioned, and the principles therein specified, or whosoever shall refuse to disown the same, in so far, as it declares a war against his sacred Majesty, and afferts, that it is lawful, to kill fuch, as serve in church, flate, army, and country, shall be tried and executed to the death. And further, we command all our good subjects—befouth the river Tay, that they be ready to concur with our Magistrates, &c. in feeking, searching, &c. and do their utmost endeavour, to seek --- and apprehend any, that shall own the said Apologetical Declaration, -or refuse to disown the same. - And since these rebels, after declaring their hellish intentions, for the better performance of their mischievous defigns, lurk in fecret, and are never discerned, but in the acts of their horrid affaffinations, and, passing up and down among our loyal fubjects, take an opportunity to murder and affassinate. Therefore, as a remedy for these inconveniencies, we declare it to be our royal will and pleasure; and we, hereby, command all heritors, &c. and, in their absence, their factors and chamberlains, to convocate all the inhabitants on their lands,—and to bring them before any of our Privy-Counsellors, or our Commissioners appointed by our Council, &c. and the master and all the inhabitants shall, in folemn manner, in presence of the faid Commissioners, take the following oath,

S

I A.B. do hereby abbor, renounce, and disoven, in pre-Thi outh me of the Almighty God, the pretended Declaration of of abjuration.

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1984. War, lately affixed at several parish churches, in so for it declares a war against his Sacred Majesty, and alle that it is lawful to kill such, as serve his Majesty in chur state, army, or country.

" And fuch as can subscribe, are to subscribe the far " and on performance thereof, the faid Commission " are hereby ordained, to deliver to every fuch per " a testificate; which testificate is to serve for " free pass, to all, who have the same, --- and s " preserve them from all molestation; -- certifying " hereby all fuch, as shall adventure to travel withou " testificate, -- that they shall be holden and used, " commoners with the foresaid execrable rebels, & "-- And if any heritor, &c. shall fail in doing " aforesaid, they shall be holden as guilty of the so " faid crimes, and purfued and punished according "And we do, hereby, strictly prohibit and " charge all our Lieges, whether in burgh or land, " well all other house-keepers, as hostler-houses, in keepers, and other houses of common resett, to h " bour, lodge, or entertain any person whatsoever, to " less they have such certificates, --- under the pain " being punished as resetters of, and intercommuners wi " rebels. And, for further security, and prevention " fraud, it is hereby required, that the users and have " of the foresaid testificates, shall be holden and oblig " to fwear, that these testificates are true and unfor " testificates; and that they are the persons mention " and expressed in them, if the same shall be require " of them. And finally, for the encouragement " fuch, as shall discover any of the said traitors and " fassins, or any who have been, any ways, in access " to the faid traiterous and damnable paper, or to t

" publishing, or spreading of the same, as said is, or " have been a member of the faid pretended societies

" fellowships, &c. We hereby declare and insure "them, or any one of them—a reward of the sum

" five hundred merks Scots, for each of them, w " shall be discovered, so as to be apprehended and four

" guilty."

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The narrative of this monstrous proclamation, is full 1684. abominable lies and horrid misrepresentations; for e, with the utmost virulence, they charge these Remarks. ople with maintaining the principles of Assassinaon, whereas, in the very DECLARATION itself, they clare their abhorrence and detestation of such things. ney represent them, as having affociated themselves. der a pretended form of government, which was absoely false; and my author says, that he was apt to beve, that some of the managers knew other things, ough they fpoke thus. They represent them, as havg refused reiterated offers of clemency; whereas it is all known, that they never had any offers of clemency ade them, but upon the condition of wilful perjury. for their declaring against the King, was there not cause, as has been already observed? The war menned, was, as themselves explain it, not a declared inrection, with hostile force, to break the peace of the tion; that had been done by the introduction of abred prelacy, and the persecution that necessarily folwed upon it: but an avowed and constant opposition the murthering violence, injustice and oppression of efaction, then in power. Let any of us imagine rselves in their circumstances, hunted as partridges on emountains, killed all the day long, and suppose, in tha situation, we should emitt a declaration, warning brbloody perfecutors, either to defift from their perfetion, or to expect that, as far as we are able, we will event the shedding of our own blood, by bringing em to punishment, let the reader judge, whether that ould be condemned; and this was the case with these ople, and all the war they declared (p. 313, 314.) and when we further consider, that none could disown edeclaration, without approving the cruelties exercifed the declarers, it is not to be wondered, that many ood out. Befides, they looked upon the OATH OF AB-TRATION, imposed by this wicked proclamation, in every spect unlawful, because the declaration, required to be fured, afferts no fuch thing, as is represented; and therebre to swear to abhor, renounce, and disown it, in so far it declares it lawful to kill all, who ferve the King in XX2

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church, state, army or country, when no such thing afferted, must needs be to swear a fallhood. They we took this oath, thereby, incorporated themselves with

bloody imposers of it, condemned the sufferers, and tified the cruel perfecution, that was carried on again them, as if they were murderers and affaffins: whereas, their declaration, they were fo far from owning it la ful, to kill all employed in the King's fervice, in churc state, army or country, that they testified to t world, that they purposed not to injure or offend a whatfoever, but fuch, as were directly accessary the murder of their brethren; nay, they expresly d tinguished from others the notorious villains amor them, men of death and blood, who had astually & their blood, and gloried in it; and these they furth divided into feveral classes, according to the respects aggravations of their wickedness. In the first, the placed the cruel and bloody of those, that murdered command. In the 2d, they threatened fuch, as we actually in arms against them, and not all of the either, but fuch as cruelly performed that service the effusion of their blood. Neither did they threat all equally, nor any of them peremptory, but on if they perfifted maliciously to proceed against the after the publishing of their declaration. In a wo they expresly declared their abhorrence of all p fonal attempts whatfoever, and prohibited the exec tion of any part of what they threatned, without p vious deliberation, common, or competent consent, & All which being confidered, the question will be, how they afferted it lawful to kill all, who ferved the Ki in church, &c? If no fuch thing is afferted, why fuch clause in the oath? I shall only add, that if these peop were fuch affassins, why would they make their delig of affaffination publick? for, if I mistake not, affaffi don't give warning of their intentions, but keep their figns secret, till they find an opportunity to put them execution. I shall say no more upon this point, b refer the reader to the Hind let loofe, p. 537, to p. 55 Though these people, in their declaration, abhorred

faffination, as all good men should, and certainly wi yet this proclamation made way for many affaffination Irc

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d murthers, as shall be related; for here all must not 1684. ly take the Oath of Abjuration, but have a certificate of er having done to; nay, they must swear, that their miscate is genuine, whenever called to it, though by bostler or stablekeeper. But to proceed.

The same day the above proclamation was published, Commisc Council gave a commission to several Noblemen, fron for entlemen and others for holding Courts in the fouthern holding Courts.

d Western shires; and these may justly be called Courts Inquisition, as is evident from the instructions given the Commissioners, who were thereby impowered and quired, to examine all, in every parish, upon oath, ith respect to the questions contained in their comiffion, and fecure those, who refused to answer, and give passes or certificates, to fuch as disowned the horprinciples, those, viz. contained in the declaration. it if any owned these principles, or refused to disown em, they were immediately to be judged; and, beglound guilty, to be presently banged on the place; but," fay the instructions, "at this time, you are not to examine any women; but fuch as have been active in the faid courses in a fignal manner, and those are to be drowned." I shall not trouble the reader with the At of the instructions: from these he may easily form judgment concerning them. Upon the whole, it is ident, there was now no peace to him that went out, w to him that came in, without conforming to the times,

which the following is a sufficient instance. On the last of December, a poor man in the parish of Cruelty to Mungo, was taken out of his bed by Captain Dal- a poor il, for not hearing the Curate; and, upon his refusing woman. eust, was imprisoned at Dumfries, and threatned with tath. He broke prison and fled to England. His wife d seven small children begged their way after him; the persecution being hot there, she was forced to turn. While fitting peaceably in an ale-house, Wesand other perfecutors came in, and required her take the test, and, upon her refusing, committed her prison at Dumfries; and though she only begged, by would allow her to take her sucking-child along

th her, an infant of a quarter old, yet that was re-

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1684. jected; nay, they defired her to prepare for death, unless she complied by next day, when they threatned to drown her. Next morning, being asked, if she would fwear, she said she would not. Being further asked, if The approved of murder, the answered, she did not; it was not their fort who were murderers. However, they were restrained from putting her to death; but she continued five weeks in prison at Dumfries. Providence took care both of the fucking infant, and of the fix other children, though they were banished the town In short, the mother was, at last, sent prisoner to Edin. burgh, whither her children followed her; and the Council, for once, put on fo much good nature as to release her. I shall conclude this year with some particulars, of which I have not the dates.

Mr. Adam Blackadder.

This year, Mr. Adam Blackadder fon to Mr. 70h Blackadder (p. 66, 133, 134) and his wife a young Gentlewoman, whom he had married in Sweden, wa brought to great trouble. Before this, when he wa about 17 years of age, he endured a five weeks impri forment at Stirling, because his master was alledged to have been at Conventicles. He was, afterwards, impri foned at Blackness for waiting on his father.

J. Linning imprisoned.

John Linning dyer in Glasgow, tho' blind, was, thi year, imprisoned 14 weeks, as he had frequently bee before, for nothing but nonconformity. When a child of his came to be on her death-bed, and paffionately crie out for her father, fuch was the unrelenting cruelty the Magistrates, that they would neither suffer him t fee her, when dying, nor attend her funeral, whe

J. Carfan gan.

John Carsan of Balmangan was imprisoned, for refu of Balman ing the bond of regularity, for nine months, during pa of the last year and this, and fined in 6000 merks. H Lady was imprisoned by Colonel Douglass, and, for n fusing the abjuration, received an indictment; and was given out, that they intended to fentence her to drowned, within the sea-mark, at the ferry at Kirken bright; but the King's death put a stop to this and for other processes of the same nature.

Chap. 12. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

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Several other instances of the severity of this year 1684. might be mentioned, as the scourging of a poor old woman of 73 years of age, the great hardships of Lady Other in-Gillespie, by the depredations of foldiers, and being frances of forced to leave her country, and fly to Ireland, &c. and the hardships endured by Charles Stuart of Knock; but

these I pass over.

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The scene of cruelty, oppression and blood continued 1685. through the whole of the year 1685. The powers granted to the foldiers, and the Abjuration Courts, pro- General duced dreadful effects. Multitudes were out off account. duced dreadful effects. Multitudes were cut off every every month, without the tedious formality of a procls. Hanging, heading, drowning, torturing, and many other methods of cruelty were used. Before I come to relate things, in the order of time, I shall give some instances of severity in pressing the abjuration

In the parish of Nithsdale, James Corsbie for refusing J. Corfthe abjuration, had his ears cropt, and was fold for a bie's ears lave to Jamaica. The cropping of ears is a new punish-cropt. ment. We shall have more instances of this by and by. The abjuration was violently pressed upon all ranks, fexes and ages, by the commissioned Courts in Dalry and other parts of Galloway, and through the large shire of Air.

One William Johnstoun, of the parish of Auchinleck, Cruelty to was summoned to one of these courts, and not appear- a servanting, a party of foldiers was fent to his house, who plun-maid. dered it, and, as he and his wife had retired, took away with them the maid, who was left to take care of the children, leaving the destitute infants by themewes, and, because she refused the oath, which she old them, she did not understand, they put firey matches tween her fingers, and burnt the flesh to the bone. Her patience and composure so astonished her tormenors, that they thought proper to difmifs her.

The shire of Lanerk was grievously harrassed by the Shire of oldiers and these Abjuration-Courts. Women were car- Lanerk ied from prison to prison, families were dispersed, se-oppressed. tral were banished, as J. Harvey, Walter Ker, and Annew M'Killen in the parish of Dalserf. One John

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1684. Stuart, in the same parish, had his wife carried pri foner to Hamilton, with a child not a month old, when the fell to ill with travelling to far in her condition, that the was left for dead, because the did not appear, and refused the oath. Some were killed on the spot, as poor man in the parish of Twinam, who was shot by order of Captain Douglass, because he would not answer their questions. Some were sent to the plantations, others to Dunnotter, and not a few continued in prifor till the toleration. The parish of Tongland was greatly oppressed by Lieutenant Living stone; for, after the Courts had been held there, for preffing the oath, fearches were made for the recufants; and one John Hallome, a youth of 18 years of age, was feized on the road, carried from place to place, and at last to Kirkendbright, where upon refusing the abjuration, a jury of foldiers was cal led, and the young man presently executed. Even person, that endeavoured to shun these parties, wa looked upon as guilty, and immediately dispatched William Auchinleck, in the parish of Buttle, happened a fall in with a company of Douglass's foot, who ordered him to stand. The man complied with every thing but not caring to lofe his horse, which he suspected the foldiers had a mind for, he rode, as fast as he could from them, and, fetching a compass, got to a public house called Carlin-work, where he took a refreshmen on horseback, thinking he was out of their reach. Mea while some of them came up and shot him.

Finnie the Curate's malice.

The conformable clergy were not wanting, at the time, to promote these cruelties. Thus one Finnie Cu rate of Cathcart, informed against John Watson, a beg gar in that parish, as a dangerous person, because the would not hear him, nor take the abjuration-oath, an got him apprehended by a party of Lord Ross's troo When they found him in his cottage, and faw he w neither able to flee from them, nor travel with then being a poor cripple, they curfed Finnie, who has hounded them out after fuch a prey. They urged hi hard to take the abjuration; John told them, that it w now long fince he fwore the COVENANT, and was r folved, to fwear no more oaths. It short, Lord Re gettin the poor man half a crown, and ordered him to be dif-

While the foldiers were, almost every week, murder-sufferers ing in the fields, the Commissioners above mentioned, increased, or any two of them, had the power of life and death in their hands, and even exceeded their instructions: but it is remarkable, that all these methods of barbarity were so far from lessening the number of the sufferers, that the more they were perfecuted, the more they increased: but I shall now relate things more distinctly, in the order of time when they happened.

On the 2d of January, Andrew M'Gill son to John Andrew M'Gill in the parish of Ballentree in Airshire, having M'Gill been apprehended, on the last of December, was exe-executed. uted at Air, and soon after his father's house was plundered by Colonel Douglass. I shall only observe, that

he old man and his other fon fuffered greatly.

On the 5th, the process against the Earl of Tarras Earl of came on before the Justiciary. It was delayed till now, Tarrass that he might be an evidence against Jerviswood (p. 330, condemnage). He was, this day, indicted upon the grounds mentioned in his confession (p. 329, 330.) Next day, the Jury brought him in guilty of treason, and the Lords condemned him to be executed as a traitor; however, he afterwards got his life, and was allowed, by the Council to go to the country for his health, upon bond to appear when called.

On the 7th, a letter came from the King, ordering Letter hose Gentlemen mentioned (p. 326) except ferviswood, from the who was executed, to be prosecuted before the ensuing King. Parliament, which was appointed to sit down on the

oth of March next.

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Next day, the Council wrote to the Bishop of Murray, Commissionifying that they had granted a Commission to the fion from Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Munro of Cultain, to prosecute all persons, guilty of church-disorders, between Spey and Ness, including Strathspey and Internetby, and recommending to him, to enjoin all the Ministers, in these bounds, to attend the said Commissioners on the 22d of January next, along with their elvol. II.

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ders, and lifts of persons, guilty of these disorders, or fuspected of being disaffected to the present established government in Church and state. Lord Duffus, with the militia troops, was ordered to attend them; for nothing could be done without MILITARY Apostles. On the 9th of January, their Commission was extended to Inverness, Ross, Cromartie and Sutherland; for the banished Ministers and others after the first introduction of prelacy, and those of late who were banished by the high commission, together with the labours of Mr. M'Gilligen, Hog and others, were fo successful, that not a few, even in these northern parts, were enemies to prelacy: but these must now be persecuted. We shall relate some of the consequences of this commission, when they give in their report to the Council.

Proclama-Magistrates of Edinburgh.

On the the same oth of January, the Magistrates of tion of the Edinburgh, in profecution of an act of Council, issued proclamation, requiring all heritors, liferenters, factors, &c. to give in, upon oath, exact lifts of all the inhabitants of the city; and particularly masters and mistresses of families were, hereby, enjoined to give it lifts of all their children, above 16 years of age, and o all who had lodged with them fince the beginning of laf This was hard upon the keepers of public houses, who might, perhaps, have different lodgers ever night; but the design of this was to prevent the suf ferers from having any shelter; and 'tis not unlikely that the same method was used in other considerable towns: how far this was an incroachment on the libert of the subject, must be left with the reader. But what b the garisons, and what by the strict searches, which wer made, it is but too evident, that the managers, at the time, paid no regard to that.

T. Jackfon banisked.

It was, at one of these searches, that Thomas Jackson in the parish of *Eastwood*, who had returned from by nishment, was taken in Glasgow by Major Balfour an Colonel Buchan. Making some resistance, he was dreat fully wounded in the head, and immediately carried t the Green, and ordered to be shot; but that no way moving him, and the perfecutors changing their refoll tion, he was fent to prison, and, from that, to the thieves

thieves-bole at Edinburgh, where he was 32 weeks 1685. loaded with irons. He was, at last, banished to Newfersey, but died in the passage.

On the 17th, the Council ordered the Advocate to Murder of oursue the parishioners of Anworth, for affronts done to the Curate meir Minister, and the parish of Carsphairn, for the of Cars-

murder of their Minster, by some skulking rebels.

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Mr. Peter Peirson Curate of Carsphairn, was a vioent instigator of the persecution, and an open favourer of Popery. About the end of the last year, some of the wanderers entered into a combination, to concert measures to force him to give a declaration, under his hand, obliging himself to desist from his violent courses, and from exciting their enemies against them; but without any design to injure his person. Accordingly, James M'Michael fowler to the Laird of Maxweltoun, Roger Padzen, Robert Mitchel, William Herron, and, according nother accounts, one Watson, and some more, having notice, that Peirson was at home, came to the Mansionhouse, and sent those above-mentioned, to desire him to heak with some who were to do him no harm. of them, it feems, got in, and delivered the meffage, which fo enraged him, that he drew a broad fword, ocked a gun or pistol, and got between them and the door. Upon which, they called out, and M'Michael and Padzen came and knocked at the door. opened it, and going to attack them with arms, M' Michael shot him dead on the spot. The rest, at some distance, hearing a noise, ran up and cried, Take no lives; but it was too late. Therefore, from a detestaion of this fact, they separated themselves from these mentioned; and so far were the publishers of the Apoloutical-declaration from countenancing any thing, that had the appearance of Assassination, that they discharged the above-mentioned persons, from their societies, m ba the above-mentioned perions, from their rockers, and and would never be feen in their company; and it was dread kewise the abhorrence of all the rest of the *Presbyteri*ied to ms. Mitchel, Herron, and M. Michael, were all of them was tilled, one way or another, this year. Watson was one resolve of the government's spies, and Padzen was admitted, to the after this, to serve the King in Strachan's troop of drabieves Y y 2 goons;

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R.Millar and R. Pollock executed.

reader.

On the 19th, Robert Miller mason in Rutherglen and Robert Pollock, called, in the registers, shoemake in Glasgow, but, by other accounts, in the parish of Kil bride, were fentenced by the Justiciary, merely for no difowning the declaration, to be hanged on the 23d. The both suffered accordingly at the Gallowlee, between eigh Their last testimonies are i and nine in the morning. the Cloud of Witnesses, from which it appears, that the had fublime thoughts of Christ, counting all things bu loss and dung in comparison of him; that they were n ways afraid of dying for his fake, and that they we full of that comfort and joy, which no stranger can in termeddle with.

Six men fields.

The fame day, they were executed, James Dun, R shot in the bert Dun, Alexander Macaulay, Thomas Stevenson, Joh M'Clude, and John Stevenson, being at prayer in the Caldunes, in the parish of Monigaff in Galloway, we furprized by Colonel James Douglast, Lieutenant I ving stone, and Cornet Douglass, with a party of hor and, without any process, were shot to death.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, &c. forfeited.

On the 26th, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart (vol. p. 467) George Pringle of Torwoodlee (p. 170) and M Fletcher of Saltoun, were profecuted before the Just ciary, and, not appearing, were forfeited; and, on t 28th, the Council gave orders to fecure their lands an effects for the King's use. The appearances of the Gentlemen against a popish successor, was all their crim Polwart furvived this black period, and was made Es of Marchmont, after the revolution, and had the hono of being an active instrument in securing the protesta religion from the defigns of the adherents to a pop PRETENDER. Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun was likew justly esteemed a brave patriot for the religion and berties of his country, and a gentleman of a pol tafte, and great learning.

Mr. Pringle of Torwoodlee, notwithstanding all Sufferings of the fifervice to the King, against Cromwel, underwent a anily of ries of troubles in this period, especially after the esca he

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Argyle, (p. 169, 170) when he was obliged to keep 1685. he mielf as retired as possible. Last summer he was finumped up, Mr. Pringle was fought for, as concerned woodlee. it: but by means of information from Meldrum, he haped. Eight days after his escape, a party came to shouse, and seized his son, a youth of about sixteen he ars of age, and carried him to prison at Edinburgh, here he was confined for above three months, though in 2000 l. Sterling. When the pretended plot was Tore i crime was laid to his charge. At length, the prison ing crouded, he was admitted to bail for 5000 l. sterl. bu ough still confined to the liberties of Edinburgh. Two onths after this, he was ordered to attend the Secret ommittee, where the Duke of Queensberry the Lord in igh Treasurer, threatned him, with having every bone his body broken, every joint disjointed, his flesh ript Ren, and boiling oyl and lead poured into him, if he did acquaint them, who informed his father of the pars coming; and the executioner was accordingly night. But, upon fecond thoughts, his punishment sturned to a three or four weeks close imprisonment the Castle of Edinburgh. When that was expired, was again admitted to bail, as above. Mean while, father was forfeited, and his mother denied the lifet, that was due to her by her contract of marriage. her the miscarriage of Argyle's attempt, Torwoodlee esed again to Holland; and his fon, notwithstanding bail, was fearched for a fecond time; but he furdered himself, and was confined to the Cattle of ukness for other three months, and was barbarously d by Living stone of Badlormie the governor. In short, whole of this family was now involved in trouble, those cruel oppressors; but his Lady's courage and ly, her ferenity and evenness of temper, under all hardships, were very remarkable. This worthy otleman died in July 1689, and his Lady survived a year and some months. He served his country in Convention of Estates, called by the great PRINCE Orange, and, with his collegue Sir William Scot of rden younger, voted the offer of the crown to his ghness and his excellent Princess. But to return.

Daniel Mackmichael murdered.

On the 30th, John Dalziel of Kirkmichael, and Lieu tenant Straitoun, with a party of 50 foldiers, surprised fome of the biding people asleep in the parish of Mortour in Nithsdale. They all escaped, except Daniel Macmi. chael, who, being under a bodily indifposition, was unable to flee. The foldiers wounded him, and carried him, that night, to the parish of Durisdeer. Afte many questions, which he declined to answer, he was told, that, unless he owned the government in church and state, and swore the oath they were to tender to him, the law made him liable to death. Daniel faid to the Captain, Sir, that is what of all things, I cannot do but very chearfully I submit to the Lords disposal, as to m LIFE. The commander faid, Do you not know your life is in my band? Daniel replied, No, Sir, I know my lif is in the Lord's hand, and if he see good, he can make yo the instrument to take it away. Then he was ordered to prepare for death next day; to which he answered, I my life must go for his cause, I am willing, my God wi prepare me. His joy and consolation were such that night, that impressions were made on some of the fol diers, who defired to die his death. Next day, he wa brought to the fields at Dalveen, in the parish of Duri deer. He had liberty to pray, a favour refused to man fufferers in this period. He prayed to the admiration of all that heard him, fung part of Psal. xlii. read Job xvi. and fpoke with much gravity and folidity to Cap tain Dalziel. When the napkin was put over his face he faid, "Lord, thou brought Daniel through man " streights, and has brought me thy servant hither, t " witness for thee and thy cause; into thy bands I con " mit my spirit, and hope to praise thee through a " eternity." Then, upon his giving them a fignal, h was shot by four, who were appointed for the purpol His carriage struck a terror on the foldiers, who obeye the bloody orders; but a little money, and fome more ra vages, stifled their convictions. He lies buried in the Church-yard of Durisdeer.

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T. Machaffie, E.c. murdered. Some time in January, Captain Bruce came with party, to the house of Thomas Machassie, in the part of Straiteun in Carrick; and though the good man w

tap. 12. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

of a fever, yet because he declined their questions, and refused the abjuration, they took him out and shot im directly. By attested accounts from the said parish, shomas Stevenson, John Stevenson, and James Maclave,

were shot in the fields, without any process.

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The month of February, I am now entering upon, John as a very bloody month. We have but a few instances Park and of the proceedings of the commissioned Courts, for J. Alexressing the abjuration. On the 3d of this month, John ander ex-Pork and James Algie in Eastwood were before the Commillioners of the shire of Renfrew, by whom they were ondemned, and ordered for execution that same day. They were apprehended on the first. And though they rere prevailed with to be willing to take the oath of abration, yet the Laird of Orbistoun, one of the cominflioned Judges, told them, The abjuration-oath shall ut fave you; unless you take the test, you shall hang premily. To which the two young men answered, If, to save wlives, we must take the test, and the abjuration will not he us, we will take no oaths at all. Upon this, they were fentenced to die presently. The said Orbistoun, fter sentence was passed, gloried in his wickedness, and id, They thought to have cheated the Judges, but, by -, I have tricked them. They lie buried at Paisly. The foldiers endeavoured to make those, who were at heir burial, declare that they died justly, and threatened hem with present imprisonment, if they did not. Anoher piece of barbarity peculiar to this period!

While these two youths were hanging, Robert King Case of miller at Pollock-shaws, in the same parish of Eastwood, Robert has before this Commission-court. He declined an-King, wering their questions. At last, the test was put to him, which he refused. Upon which, they bid him wok upon these two, who were hanging before the hindow, and affured him, that, if he took not the test, thould be immediately tied up with them. To terify him into a compliance, he was shut up in a corner of the prison, and assured, that, he had but an hour to he, that they would give him three warnings by sound of trumpet, and if he sat the third, there was no mercy within. Robert sat the two sirst sounds, but his cou-

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1685. rage failing him, he took the test: but, says my author, it pleased God, to give him repentance not to be repented of, and he lived till a good old age. His wife Janet Scoular bore all the losses her husband sustained, in this period, with uncommon firmness and patience.

and of other pri-Soners.

On the 5th of February, the Council released some prisoners, who had took the test, and others, not under a sentence of banishment, who would take the oath of of allegiance. They referred the case of John Mossman of Caldermoor to the Justiciary, because of a seditious letter found with him, and of his not abjuring the late They likewise ordered Quintin Dick, Robert declaration. Sloss, Duncan Fergusson, Mr. William Wisheart, Mr. George Room, and several others, to be fent to the plantations; but the King's death happening at this time. altered their measures with respect to fundry of these persons.

The King's death.

For on the 6th of February, King CHARLES II. died. There were, fays Bishop Burnet, very many apparent fuspicions of his being poisoned, and several looked upon his BROTHER, as privy to it. But not to enter upon that point, I shall only observe, that, before he died, care was taken, to administer to him the three popish facraments of penance, extreme unction, and the eucharist; which he received by the hands of Father Huddlestone a Benedictine Monk. As for the characte of this Prince, of which a great deal is faid by the histo rians of his reign, I shall only fay, that if he was polfessed of any good qualities, his dissimulation and hypocrify, his horrid perjury, his wickedness and prophane ness, threw a gloomy and black vail over them. Some have cried him up for a prince of a merciful disposition; bu if any regard is to be paid to the Bishop of Salisbury judgment, we must have other thoughts of him. Hi words are thefe, "He had an appearance of gentlened

" in his outward deportment; but he feemed to have no bowels nor tenderness in bis nature; and in the en " of his life, he became cruel." In short, the best wa to judge of his character, is to consider the history of hi reign.

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## CHAP. XIII.

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Of the accession of King JAMES VII. the proceedings of the Council and Justiciary; the murders in the fields: the unsuccessful attempt of the Earl of Argyle; the sufferings of the prisoners sent to Dunnotter; the actings of the parliament; the drowning of two women, and other branches of oppression, to the end of the Session.

THE Duke of York, a few hours after his brother's Duke of death, was proclaimed King in London, by the York proname of JAMES II. Bishop Burnet says, it was a claimed. heavy folemnity; few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present King. A dead filence, though without any diforder, followed it through the streets.

When the Councellors returned, the new King, in his His declafreech, promised to follow his brother's example, espe-ration to cally in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his the Counpeople, and to preferve the government, both in church and state, as by law established; and, as he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, he would never invade any man's property. were fine promises; but it is well known, they were only made to be broken, tho' he renewed them to the Parliament. As to his going publickly to mass, his continuing meduties and customs, before they were granted by parlament, his publishing, that the late King died a pa-M, &c. I must refer to the English historians.

Though JAMES was a professed papist, yet care was his taking taken in England, that he should take the English coro- the Engnation-oath; but with what alterations I cannot deternation Unfair dealing was suspected, and my author oath. ells us, that the Lord Chief Baron Aitkins, upon no es occasion, than his administering the oaths to Sir Willam Ashurst Lord Mayor of London, 1693, publickly VOL. II. afferted,

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afferted, " That as alterations were made by Bishon " Laud, in striking out those words, which were a par of the old English coronation-oath, that the King " should consent to such laws, as the PEOPLE should chuse " when he crowned King CHARLES I. fo at the coro " nation of the late King JAMES II. there was much more struck out of the coronation-oath, which migh 66 be well worthy enquiring, how it came about," Echard fays, this was an afpersion cast upon Sancrof by the Lord Chief Baron; but the reader is to judge whether it is probable, the Chief Baron would have ex pressed himself in such a manner, upon so publick as occasion, if he had not had sufficient grounds for wha he faid.

never took the Scots oath.

But the King never took the Scots coronation-oath This, abstracting from his religion, made many ca coronation his right to govern in question, and made his for feiture quite easy to our Convention of States in Scot land, April 11, 1689; so that they very justly declared as follows, "Whereas King JAMES VII. being a pro " fessed papist, did assume the regal power, and acte as King, without ever taking the OATH required b " law, whereby every King, at his access to the govern " ment, is obliged to fwear, to maintain the protestar " religion, and to rule the people, according to the " laudible laws, &c. that, by all this, he hath forfeite " the right to the crown," &c. Here then King Jami is declared, by the Kingdom of Scotland, to have been an usurper from the beginning; and if HE had no rigi to the crown of that Kingdom, whence his pretende abjured race derive theirs, must be left with the reade From this I judge it very plain, that, upon the demi of the late King, the crown, by the laws of the land devolved on the next protestant heir, and consequent the happy revolution restored the Kingdom of Scotlar to its own constitution, and bleffed it with its own righ ful Governors: fo that nothing but infatuation can mal any person, much more any protestant, to be fond of the Pretender. But to proceed to the history of this detel able reign, as far as it concerns my design.

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On the 10th of February, the King was proclaimed 1685. at Edinburgh. The proclamation was fent down from London; and as it is somewhat singular, I shall here in- The King fert the substance of it, as follows:

" Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty God, " to call CHARLES II. our late Sovereign Lord, of glo-"rious and ever bleffed memory, from a temporary " crown, to inherit an eternal in the heavens; whereby "the undoubted right of fuccession to him, in the impe-" rial crown of this realm, was immediately devolved " on the facred person of his royal and dearest brother, "our present facred Sovereign (whom God long pre-" serve.) Therefore, we the Lords of his Majesty's "Privy-Council——do, with the concurrence of fe-" yeral others, Lords spiritual and temporal, Barons and "Burgesses of this realm, hereby declare and proclaim, " to all the world, that our Sovereign Lord JAMES VII. "is, by lawful and undoubted fuccession and descent, "King of Scotland, England, France, &c. Defender of "the Faith, &c.——and whom we shall humbly " obey, dutifully and faithfully ferve, maintain and de-" fend, with our lives and fortunes, against all deadly, "as our only righteous King and Sovereign, over all "persons and in all causes, as holding his imperial " crown from GOD alone. And, for testification where-" of, we here, in presence of the Almighty God, and "a great number of his Majesty's faithful people,—— " declare and publish, that our said Sovereign Lord, by "the goodness and providence of Almighty God, is of " Scotland, England, France, &c. the most potent, "mighty, and undoubted King. And hereby give our " oaths, with uplifted hands, that we shall bear true " and faithful allegiance unto our said Sacred Sovereign "JAMES VII. King of Great Britain, France, and "Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and to his lawotlar "ful heirs and fuccessors; and shall perform all duties, righ " service and obedience to him, as becomes his faithful, of the "loyal, and dutiful subjects. So help us GOD."

This feems to look more like the form of an oath, Remarks. han a proclamation. Here absolute supremacy, indelassible and bereditary right are afferted in strong terms;

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this. It is not worth while, to take notice of the fulfome addresses, on this occasion, these being things of course. The new King continued all the civil and military officers, for some time, and consequently the state of the sufferers was still the same.

Gentlemen, &c. released.

The Council proceeded as usual. Many Gentlemen, Ministers and others were before them; some obtained their liberty, who had been imprisoned, and fined to the value of their estates, for refusing the test. Others were released on condition of returning to their confinement, after a limited time, and others upon condition of appearing when called. I shall only mention their names, as James Hamilton of Aikenbead, Mr. And. Kennedy of Clowburn, And. Hay of Craignethan, Napier Laird of Kilmahew, Will. Fairly of Brunsfield, Sir John Maxwel of Netherpollock, John Porterfield of Douchal and Alex. his fon, Bannantyne of Craigmuir, G. Hamilton of Browncastle, Laird of Fairly, J. Crawford of Crawford. land, W. Cunningbam of Albenyards, J. Whiteford of Bal. quban, J. Hamilton younger of Halcraig, the Laird of Craigends younger, J. Caldwel of Caldwel, J. Stuart of Hartwood, William Hamilton of Overtoun, Muirbead of Bradisholm, and Mr. John Bannantyne of Corebouse, Mr. William Wisheart, Mr. John Knox, Robert Hamilton of Monkland, John M'Ghie of Balgoon, Mr. Will. M'Jore, Mr. Mich. Porter, Mr. J. M'Gilligen, Hugh Kennedy of Daljarroch, Alex. Hume of Newton, Hugh Montgomery of Boreland, John Mitchel son to Tunnerbill, Alexander Durham of Duntrieve, Mr. Geo. Meldrum of Crombie, Pat. Hay of Naughton, Rob. Boyd of Trochridge, C. Alexander in Paisly, Geo. Douglass of Bonjedburgh, Patrick fon to Sir Patr. Hume of Polwart, Mr. James Futhy, and J. Martin of Little-hairshaw, likewise James Armour merchant in Glafgow, William Muir and Halbert Wales, &c. I might also here mention the case of several excellent Gentlewomen, as the Lady Colvil, the Lady St. Ford, the Lady Tilen, and her fon about 11 years of age, who had been imprisoned, with her, for conventicles, Lady Skelmorly, Lady Abdean; who, after a great deal of trouble, were fet at liberty; Lady Mary Hope

CHURCH of SCOTLAND. Chap. 13.

Hope was outlawed, or put to the horn, for not appear- 1685. ing. But I chuse to omit particulars concerning these nersons, and to go on to relate other things, as they happened in the order of time.

On the 11th of February, the Council recommended Report to a Committee, to enquire into, and make a report about the of the case of those in the prisons of Edinburgh and Ca-prisoners. They made their report on the 16th, by which it appeared, that feveral, who complied to take the test, or the oath of allegiance, were fet at liberty; John Smith, and James Russel were remitted to the justices, and four-

teen were ordered for the plantations.

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On the 19th, the Commission-Court for Dumbarton Several fined John Napier of Kilmahew in 2000 l. sterl. for not fined. appearing, John Zuil of Darleith 1000l. sterling for refusing the Test, John Campbel of Carrick 1500 l. for himself and Lady, for hearing ejetted Ministers, and Isabel Buchannan in 100 l. sterl, and ordered them to te imprisoned, till they paid their fines, or gave satisfaction to the Duke of Queensberry the Lord-Treasurer.

Mr. Zuil of Darleith was put into the Castle of Dum- J. Zuil of harton. In March, his Lady died of a fever. Darleith Darleith. was not fuffered to fee her, when dying; only, as a mighty favour, he was permitted to go out till four days after her funeral, when his fon and fon-in-law gave abond, for a thousand pound sterl. that he should return to prison, when that time was expired. He returned, and continued in hold the space of 18 or 20 months; but, by his want of accommodation, he contracted a confumption, of which he died in Fanuary 1688.

The murthering work went on in the fields. Accord- Eleven ingly, on the faid 19th of Feb. Captain Bruce and a party murdered surprized fix of the wanderers, in Lochinkit-muir, in the in the parish of Kirkpatrick in Galloway, viz. William Herron, fields. John Gordon, William Stuart, and John Wallace, whom ordered to be shot, without any process. He carried Alex. Macrobin or Mubine, and Edward Gordon, the other two, to the Bridge of Orr, where Lagg was for pressing the abjuration. The Captain would have these after two tried by a Jury; but Lagg swore, they should not, Mary and, in a bravado, said before the country people, that

all,

1685. all, who had taken the oath, had swore these mens doom. Accordingly, next day, they were carried to the parish of Irongray, and were hanged up on an oak-tree by When they were come to the tree, an Lagg's orders. acquaintance asked Alexander, if he had any word to fend to his wife; he answered, I leave her and the two babes on the Lord; and to his promise, a father to the father. less, and a busband to the widow is the Lord, in his boly babitation. When the person employed as executioner asked him forgiveness, he said, Poor man, I forgive thee. and all men; thou hast a miserable calling upon earth. They both died in much composure and cheerfulness. On the 21st, Bruce, and, some accounts say, Colonel Douglass with him, killed other five men at Kirkonnel; but their names are not known.

Edward Kyan murdered.

On the 28th, about 11 at night, Lieutenant or Cornet Douglass surrounded the house of Dalwin, in the parish of Bar, with a party, and apprehended one David Martin Brother to John Martin of Dalquhairn. was one Edward Kyan, who had concealed himself between the end of one house and the side-wall of ano-Perceiving him, they dragg'd him out, and, without asking any other questions, but where he lived, the lieutenant shot him through the head, first with one pistol, and then with another; and one of the foldiers, pretending to observe some motion, shot him a third time. He was but a youth, and could not have been concerned in, any of the rifings. David Martin was next brought forth, and, when they had ftrip'd him of his coat, was fet on his knees beside the mangled body. One of the foldiers begg'd the Lieutenant to spare him, till next day, alledging they might get some discoveries from him, and then stept in between him and fix foldiers, who were presenting their pieces. But tho' this prevented his death at this time, yet, thro' the fright and terror he was put into, he was in a great measure deprived of his reason, was seized with a palfy, and kept his bed for the space of four years, when he died. T. Abercromby (p. 318) father and fon, together with some women in the neighbourhood, were barbarously beat and wounded. One of the Abercrombies, 77.

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rombies, hies, and David Martin were carried with them prisoners 1685. to Colmonel next morning, being the Lord's day.

Several others were murdered in cold blood this month of February. Thus William Adam in Midlewelwood, at-Murders, tempting to escape a party commanded by Sir John Dalziel, on account of their ensnaring questions, was discovered, and instantly dispatched. Wallace, Edgar, and a third, were shot in the Parish of Kirkpatrick by Capt. Bruce. Col. Buchan, and his men, shot one John Smith in the Parish of Lesmahago. In the Cloud of Witnesses, we find, that the said Cornet Douglas apprehended Edward Mackeen, and because he had a slint stone about him, ordered him to be shot without any surther trial.

Some time this month, Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Mr. Bell having the command of a part of Claverhouse's troop, of Whiteand Strachan's dragoons, surprized Mr. John Bell of side, &c. Whiteside, David Halliday portioner of Mayfield, Andrew murdered. M'Robert, James Clement, and Robert Lennox of Irlintoun, and most barbarously killed them on the spot, after quarters given, without fo much as allowing them to pray before their death, or to be buried after it. Mr. Bell was the only fon of a gentlewoman, heiress of Whitefide, who, after his father's death, was married to the Viscount of Kenmure. He was a gentleman of good sense, and unaffected piety, and had been grievoully harraffed fince Bothwel. He was very well acquainted with Lagg, and only defired a quarter of an Hour to prepare for death. Lagg refused it, cursing and swearing, What the D- have you not had time enough to prepare since Bothwel? A little after this, the Viscount of Kenmure, Claverbouse, and Lagg happened to be in company at Kirkcudbright. Kenmure challenged Lagg for his cruelty to Mr. Bell a gentleman, and his relation, especially in not permitting him to be Lagg told him, with an oath, Take him if you will, and falt him in your beef barrel. Upon this Kenmure drew, and would have run him thro', had it not been for Claverbouse. The wickedness of the soldiers, at this time, was dreadful, and none worle than this Lagg. They used, in their cabals, to take to themselves

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in bell, and, with whips, to lash one another, as jest on that place of torment. But my author just draws a vail over many of their horrid acts of impiety.

R. Nairn.

The troubles of Robert Nairn of Bonbill, (p. 190 were renewed this month. The deputy of the re gality of Dumbarton came, at midnight, with two of cers, to his house. His wife was forced to take to th fields, with a fucking child, leaving three other chil dren with a fervant maid. When they had fearched th house, they took the eldest boy, not fifteen years age, and drawing their fwords, threatned to kill him if he did not tell, where his father was. They took a inventory of the boushold furniture, and arrested all i the hands of the landlord, whom they obliged to b accountable for every thing, except the cradle. The turned the two infants, the eldest not being five year of age, out of their beds, and carried away the bed cloaths, and obliged the maid to find bail to appea when called. Next April, they again fearched hi house, and carried his wife to prison, where she lay til the found bail to keep the church. Robert ventured home next winter, but being informed against, he wa purfued by two men, who both fired at him, fo that h narrowly escaped, and got into a wood near his own house, where he contracted such a cold and illness, that he was obliged to return home. This being known two officers were fent to carry him prisoner to Dum barton, which they would have done, had he not been carried to a friend's house, about a mile from his own where he got to his everlasting rest. It was with diff culty he was permitted to be buried in the Church-yard of Bonbill, thro' the malice of the Curate. His widow and eldest fon were upon this brought to further trouble which I must pass over.

Report from the Commissioers in Murray.

On the 2d of March, the Council received the report of the Commissioners for the Shire of Murray, (p 345) from whence it appears, that not a few had been brought under great hardships, in these northern parts When the Commissioners first arrived there, they or dered all disorderly persons they could be informed of

the shires of Bamf, Ross, and Sutberland, to be sum- 1685. moned before them, at a certain day, and compleat s of heritors, wadfetters, &c. to be drawn up, who muntarily, as they faid, offered three months supply phis Majesty, took the Test, and other oaths and mids. They examined all ministers and elders in tele bounds, and others, concerning the state of the ountry, and diforderly perfons in it, libelled all perfons informed against, fined some, and banished others. Particularly, they ordered the Laird of Fowlis elder, to eimprisoned at Tain, and the Laird of Fowlis younger, Inverness, in case he resused the bond of peace. They deared the country of all, whom they called outed miifters, and vagrant preachers, and banished the Reveand Masters James Urqubart, John Stuart, Alexander Dunber, and George Meldrum, together with Alexander and Mark Mavers, portioners of Uqubart, Donald and Andrew Munroes of Elgin, Alexander Munro, sometime of Main, and Jane Taylor, a Servant and married woman. They fined the Laird of Grant in 42500 l. he Laird of Brody 24000 l. Alexander Brody of Lethin 10000 l. Francis Brody of Miltoun 10000 l. Francis Brody of Windyhills 3333 l. 6 s. 8 d. Mr. James Brody of Kinlee 333 l. 6 s. 8 d. Mark Maver banished, in 100 l. Mr. George Meldrum banished, in 6666 l. 13 s. d. They likewise ordered Thomas Dunbar of Grange, he Laird of Innes younger, William Brody of Coltfield, Villiam Brody of Whitewray, and Mr. Robert Donaldm in Arr, to appear when called. They, whom they unished, were to be fent prisoners to Edinburgh, and iders were given to apprehend the few delinquents, hat were absent, and commit them to prison, till they hould fign the bond of peace and regularity, and engage keep the Kirk, for the time to come.

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or d of This is but a short abbreviat of the report made y the Lords Commissioners: but, it is easy to form judgment of the oppression of the country; for bey had nothing to lay to the charge of any of these

ersons, but their Nonconformity.

This Court confisted of the Earls of Errol and Kinwe, with Sir George Monro, commonly called Major-Vol. II. A a a General. new Gallows to be erected in terrorem. Absence from the Kirk, and being at Conventicles, were the dreadful crimes; for none, in this part of the country, had been

at Bothwell.

Laird of Brody.

The Laird of Brody had, what they called, a Conventicle in his House. He went to London to get, if possible, some reasonable composition made for his fine, and, after much pains and expence, was forced to give bond for 22000 merks, to one Col. Maxwell a Papist to whom that sum was paid, and the Colonel's acknowledgment of it is, for ought I know, still among the papers of the family.

Laird of Grant's Petition rejected.

The Laird of Grant gave in a petition, after this, to the Council, fetting forth, that he had been fined, be cause his Lady had confessed two years and a half withdrawing from the ordinances, the keeping of an un licensed chaplain and the like, and declared, that h thought it hard, that a husband should be liable for hi wife's withdrawing from ordinances, especially, as the parish-church was vacant for a year and a half of the time specified, and the next parish-church was fix of feven miles distant, and that his Lady, for the most part was in a bad state of health, and given over by the physi cians, and that she had never withdrawn from any prin ciple of difloyalty. In short, he cleared himself from every thing laid to his charge, as the petition more fu ly bears: But the Council found, that their Commi fioners had proceeded legally, and ordered him to purfued for the fine.

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Others im-

A great many others were called before this Cour and imprisoned at Elgin, as John Montfod chambe lain to Park, Jane Brody, Relict of Al. Thomson, me chant in Elgin, Christian Lesly, Daughter of Lesly Aikenwall, Beatrix Brody relict of Lesly of Aikenwall &c. When the King died, the Court rose, and the were released.

Indemnity published.

On the faid 2d of *March*, the new King's *indemn* was published, out of which, the chief movers and is struments of the present commotions, together with heritors, liferenters, wadsetters, burgesses, and vagra preache

preachers, and the murderers of Archbishop SHARP, and of 1685. the minister of Carsphairn, were excepted. In short, none could have the benefit of it, without complying with the oaths, at that time imposed. All others were to partake of this demonstration of the King's innate clemency, which he fay, bath shined in the whole line of his royal Race. The affair of the Palatinate, the Irish maffacre, and the proceedings of the late reign are no

great proofs of this.

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The same day, Cornet Baily met with a young man, Two more William Smith, in the fields, and carried him to the murders. garison, because he refused to answer their questions; and next day, J. Lawrie of Maxweltoun, pretending to be a Commissioner, passed sentence of death upon him, notwithstanding the intercession of his father, and the remonstrance of the Cornet. He was immediately shot at the Race muir, and died with great composure, and in full affurance of faith, declaring, that he died for no rebellion, nor any crime, but for converse with the persecuted people, and refusing to discover them. Some time this month, Lieutenant Murray met with one John Brown, in the fields, and, without any process or sentence, ordered him to be shot, near the Blackwood in that parish, tho' he had promised him qua ters.

On the 6th of March, Major Balfour feized Robert R Logan, Logan, George Muir, and John Gilfillan, in the house &c. of one Sarah Kirkland at Glasgow, and, without any order from the Council, fent two of them to the Planations, and the other was fent to Dunnotter, whether the woman was likewife ordered, but she made her escape by the way. Mr. William Boyd, who at the Revolution, was admitted minister at Dalry, was seized

about this time, but foon got free.

The fame day, the Reverend Mr. Alexander Shields Mr. Alex. was before the Justiciary. He, together with John Shields Frazer, A. M. Andrew Crawford, Charles Gray, Wil-before the liam Cunningham, William Oliphant, John Martin, and J. fliciar y. liam Cunningham, William Oliphant, John Martin, and John Foreman, were sent down prisoners from London. It is faid in the records, that this excellent person, when examined before the Lords, "did abhor, renounce, "and disown, in the presence of Almighty God, the Aaa 2 " late

1685.

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Vol. II

"Interest of the seconds of the second of the seconds of the second of

him in the records.

I am forry, I cannot give a distinct account of this burning and shining light. That he made compl ances to the perfecutors, at this time, is very certain But notwithstanding these, he was not released, but sen pon to the Bass, and I am well affored by my honourable affired. Sir Thomas Gordon of Earlstoun, that he had certainly suffered, if he had not made his escape in women all the cloaths; and that, whatever concessions he made, here tracted them with sorrow and regret, and, thereupo below joined himself to, and was received by, the persecute Societies, and took part, with Mr. Renwick and the land in their sufferings, adhering to the whole of their test smoony: But the reader is at a loss, that I have not the materials, by which the history of this useful and lear relevant to the suffering and learn to the suffering an materials, by which the history of this useful and lear ed minister might be cleared up.

At and after the revolution, he was of great service in the army, and much esteemed by King WILLIAM In October 1690, he and other two ministers offered large paper, to the General Affembly then fitting Edinburgh, containing Proposals for redressing sever grievances: And had the Affembly either thought prudent, or convenient, at that time, to allow the fa paper to be read, or taken the contents of it und their ferious deliberation, it might, possibly, have produced many valuable effects; but, relying upon the report of their Committee of Overtures, they judged inconvenient, at that time, to read and consider However, Mr. Shields, notwithstanding this, joined communion with the Church of Scotland, and was fe tled at St. Andrews, where he continued, till he w prevailed with to go, with his countrymen, to Darie He was perfectly depressed in his spirit, on account th

thap. 13. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

he fatal disappointment of that undertaking, which, he 1685. news, had it been faithfully and well managed, would ave been of great advantage, not only to the nation, nt also to the Christian Religion. He died in fa-nica of a short sickness, after he lest Caledonia. His find let loose, and his Treatise of Church Communion which last was published, after his death, by the Reman of great parts and solid judgment. But to reurn.

On the 10th of March, the Committee (p. 357.) made Report of nother report to the Council concerning the prisoners, the Compon which some were released, and others continued, and letters were dispatched to the Commissioners for hirling, Glasgow, and Air, to offer the indemnity to If the prisoners there, and that they, who should be retased, might have a pass subscribed either by a Counto the same day, the Council

The fame day, the Council gave a warrant to the Warrant aird of Pitlochie, to go to the prisons of Edinburgh, to Pitof siles forw and Stirling, and transport a hundred of the lochie. an acluding all heritors, who had above a hundred pounds ent.

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By this time, the rumours of Argyle's defign upon Unaccotlend, and of Monmouth's upon England began to countable mad, which tended to increase the violences and ra-proceedages of the army, especially those under the command Claver-f Claverhouse in Clidesdale, Annandale and Nithsdale. house. entors and gentlemen, in the two last of these shires, ere fummoned to attend the King's standard. He parelled out the shire into so many divisions, taking in for eight miles square, at a time. In every division, aving drove all the inhabitants, without distinction, to one place, and asked them severally, whether they wned the Duke of York, that was, for their KING, he sade all the men swear to continue in their allegiance, nd never do any thing against him. Next he demandrie d, whether they had taken the abjuration, or had ever

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they had not, he then made them promise, upon the 1685.

renouncing their part in beaven, that they would neve repent of what they had done. When he dismissed an that complied with all this, he told him, Argyle sha bave a perjured dog of you. If a man refused to sweat he was carried some few paces from the rest, a napli was tied over his face, and the soldiers ordered to fin either blank powder, or over his head. Having the brought him under the terror of death, he was one more offered his life, upon swearing and promising inform against all disloyal persons; by which mean not a few were brought to a compliance. Besides the

Cruelty to children.

methods of cruelty, all the children, in the division above fix, and under ten years of age, were affembled by themselves, and a party of soldiers drawn out before Then they were bid pray, for they were goin Some of them would answer, Sir, we cann to be shot. Then they were required to tell, when they fa men and guns in their house, or if any men, with gu and fwords, got meat or drink in their houses: but would be endless to mention all the unaccountable pr ceedings of Claverhouse and his men; neither is the any occasion for making remarks on these things.

Marquis of Athol impowered.

On the 12th of March, the Marquis of Athol rece ed orders to raise 500 Highlanders, for securing the per of the shire of Argyle; from which, it would feem, Ministry had early information of Argyle's intended valion.

Indulged Ministers released.

The same day, the Council ordered the Magistrates Edinburgh to release Mr. Andrew Miller, indulged nister at Neilstoun, Mr. James Curry, at Shotts, Mr. Murray of Woodend, and Mr. Robert Mowat at Hen who had, for fome time, been imprisoned, for not ferving their instructions; and on the 14th, Mr. Can bel and Mr. Duncanson were ordered to be release Some time after this, Mr. And. M'lean, Mr. P. Ca bel, Mr. Dav. Simpson indulged Ministers in Argylesh Mr. John Oliphant, and other indulged Ministers, w about this time, fet at liberty, and returned to their houses, where they, sometimes, preached; but more in the churches; and in this situation matters tini

hap. 13. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

nued, till the liberty 1687. The acts, by which they 1685. ere released, obliged them to engage, not to exercise my part of their ministry within the Kingdom; but it oes not appear, they complied with this.

On the 24th of March, some of the hearers of Mr. Country mwick were observed, going and coming from his fer-barrafed. ions in arms, and therefore the Council impowered Comel Douglass, and the commanders of the garisons, to unish the common people, who did not inform against em, and to oblige the heritors, on whose grounds they ere seen, to appear before the Council, in April next; ut we have had fo many commissions of this nature rmerly, that there is no occasion, either to insert this, make any remarks upon it. Only from the Councilgifters, it appears, that James Napier, Allan Atkin, nd John Peirson, were condemned to die for concealg the rebels, who went through the shire of Air; but ere afterwards pardoned.

On the 30th Thomas Kenneday of Grange, John Ken- T. Kenday of Glenure, and Gilbert Macmichan of Kil-faint- neday of Grange, mans, were profecuted, before the Justiciary, for ac- &c. prossion to Bothwel. Next day, Kenneday of Grange was secuted. indenined to be executed, when apprehended, Kenney of Glenure was acquitted; but what the issue was,

ith respect to G. Macmichan, is not known.

As I am, now, come to relate, what happened in the Oppressionth of April, I might observe, in general, that the sions in general diers continued to harrass the country, that they innucted some to be spies upon the wanderers, by seigng themselves of their principles; and when they found at their lurking-places, by informing against them. A dy of Highlanders was brought down, to affift the reular troops; but I omit all this, as having had frelent opportunity to lay, before the reader, many uneccedented instances of oppression, committed by the ldiers and officers.

On the 9th of April, the Duke of Queensberry's com- Duke of ission, to be the King's Commissioner in the ensuing Queensfion of Parliament, was read in Council. "Upon Commifing CHARLES's death, the Marquis of Queensberry, soner. on after made a Duke, and the Earl of Perth, came Burnet, p.

to 634, 635.

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1685. to Court. The Duke of Queensberry told the King that, if he had any thoughts of changing the established religion, he could not make any one step with him, that manner. The King feemed to receive this ver kindly, and affured him, he had no fuch intention, bu that he would have a Parliament called, to which h should go his Commissioner, and give all possible a furances, in the matter of religion, and get the revenu to be fettled, and fuch other laws to be paffed, as migh be necessary for the common fafety. The Duke Queensberry pressed the Earl of Perth, to speak, in the fame strain, to the King; but though he pretended be still a Protestant, yet he could not prevail on him speak, in so positive a stile. The Duke, frequent fince that time, told Bishop Burnet, that the King made these promises to him, in so frank and hearty a manne that he concluded, it was impossible for him to be at ing a part. Therefore he always believed, that the Priests gave him leave to promise every thing, and the he did it very fincerely; but that, afterwards, they pr tended, they had a power to diffolve the obligation all oaths and promises." The order of time leads n now to speak of Argyle.

Argyle's projects.
Burnet,
p. 629.

"The deliberations in Holland, fays the Historian his own time, among the English and Scots, that the thither, came to ripen faster than was expected. Lo Argyle had been quiet, ever fince 1683, and had live mostly in Friezland, though he came frequently to A sterdam, and met with several of his countrymen, w lay concealed there, the chief of whom were the La Melvil, Sir Patrick Hume, and Sir John Cochran. W these this Lordship communicated all the advices her ceived." In short, upon the death of the late Kin he judged, he had a favourable opportunity, to atten the rescue of his country, from that popery and slave wherewith it was threatned by the accession of the Du of York, and therefore resolved to make a descent up Scotland, where he hoped to be joined by a number, I ficient for answering his design; and, at the same time prevailed with the Duke of Monmouth to make ad cent upon England; but Argyle wanted money, whi

1684.

and not but be a great baulk to his undertaking: hower, that want was supplied by means of a rich widow Amsterdam, who furnished him with 10000 l. sterling. With this, he bought a stock of arms and ammunition, hich was very dexterously managed by one, who aded to Venice, as if intended for the service of that publick."

On the 17th of April, there was a meeting at Amsterm, at which were present, the Earl of Argyle, Mr. warles Campbel his son, Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Tor-A Meet-wollee, William Denholm of Westshiels, George Hume of ing at assimption, John Cochran of Waterside, Mr. George Amsterisheart, William Clellan, James Stuart Advocate, and dam. r. Gilbert Elliot. Sir John Cochran was chosen Preses, that time. At this meeting it was unanimously

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"That the above named persons, and other Gentle-Resolumen of the kingdom of Scotland, joining with them tions.
in a great undertaking, intended by them in the desence, and for the recovery of the religion, rights
and liberties of the kingdom of Scotland, shall assume
and take upon them the quality and character of a
Council, for consulting and determining whatsoever
relates to that great undertaking, and management
thereof; and that so soon as they come to Scotland,
such of the nation, as shall join themselves to them,
in the prosecution of the said undertaking, shall likewise have access unto, and be joined in the foresaid
Council.

"The persons foresaid, in the character and quality above expressed, do resolve to make war—against James Duke of Albany and York, and such as shall adhere to him; and for the command and conduct of the army, they shall be able to gather together, they unanimously appoint Archibald Earl of Argyle to the office of Captain-general,—Mr. William Spence their Clerk; and recommend to the said James Stuart, to persect the declaration of war they design to publish, and that against Monday next. It is further resolved,

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1685.

" John Cochran, Sir Patrick Hume, George Pringle an William Denbolm, meet to morrow at the Earl

" chamber, at eight o'clock in the morning, to expen their instructions, and adjourn their meeting,

" Monday at eight o'clock at night, to Sir John Cou " ran's chamber."

Debates among them.

630.

No doubt they met at the time and place appointed and, probably, agreed to the draught of their declar tion; and thus far they were harmonious: but after this according to Bishop Burnet, "they had sharp debat p. 6:9,

about the course they were to hold. Argyle was f failing round Scotland to his own country. Hume w for the shorter passage; the other being a long navig tion, and subject to great accidents. Argyle said, the fastnesses of his own country made that to be the saf place, to gather men together. He prefumed fo fare

his own power, and on his management hitherto, the he took much upon him; fo that the rest were often on the point of breaking with him. The Duke

Monmouth came fecretly to them, and made up all the quarrels, and would willingly have gone with the himself; but Argyle did not offer him the comman

On the contrary, he pressed him to make an impression on England," and by that means they were both hurid to a precipitate undertaking, before matters were in

But to return to Scotland.

On the 21st of April, the Duke of Hamilton, the Ea of Dumfries, and Colonel Douglass, were added to it Council; and on the 25th, Lieutenant-General Drus mond was fent west to harrass the country, for the o pretended resett and converse. We have had sever commissions of this nature before now, so that there no occasion to insert any thing further as to this.

Parliament fat down.

On the 28th, the Parliament sat down, which w just a few days before Argyle set sail from Holland, at not after the defeat of that expedition, as Bishop Burns through mistake, tells us. The last Parliament 168 was under the conduct of a popists Commissioner, a is intirely subserved the designs of a popish King. Here it finishing stroke was given to the nations liberties, in the King's dispensing power established by law. soody and detestable statutes were here enacted, that is to the indelible infamy of the projectors, a scandal of the protestant name, a terror to that age, and a arning, 'tis hoped, to all posterity, of the native tenency of absolute power and indeseasible right.

The first thing, the Parliament was entertained with, as the King's letter, of which I cannot but give the

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JAMES R.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE many experiences we have had, of the loy- King's alty and exemplary forwardness of that our an-letter. cient kingdom, by their representatives, in parliament affembled, in the reign of our dearestbrother,—made us defirous to call you,—in the beginning of our reign, to give you an opportunity, not only of shewing your duty to us, in the same manner, but likewise in being exemplary to others, in your-compliance with our desires, as you have most eminently been, in times past, to a degree never to be forgotten by us. — That which we are, at this time, to propose, is what is as necessary for your safety, as our service, and what has a tendency more to secure your own privileges and properties, than the aggrandizing our power and authority (though in it consists the greatest security of your rights and interests, these never having been in danger, except when the royal power was brought too low to protect them) which now we resolve to maintain in its greatest lustre, to the end, we may be the more enabled to defend and protect your religion, as established by law, and your rights and properties-against FANATI-CAL contrivances, murderers, and affaffins, who, having no fear of God, more than honour for us, have brought you into fuch difficulties, as only the bleffing of God, upon the steady resolutions and actings of our faid dearest royal brother, and those employed B b b 2

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1685. " by him (in profecution of the good and wholfome law by you beretofore offered) could have faved you from " the most horrid confusions and inevitable ruin. N "thing has been left unattempted by those wild an " inhuman traitors, for endeavouring to overturn you " peace, and therefore we—hope that nothing w " be wanting in you, to secure yourselves and US, from " their outrages and violence, in time coming, and

" take care, that such conspirators meet with their ju " defervings, so as others may thereby be deterred from

" courses so little agreeable to religion, or their du " and allegiance to us." The rest of the letter is made up of encomiums upon the Duke of Queensberry the Commissioner, and expresses his Majesty's hopes, the this parliament would readily concur with what ev

should be proposed to them.

Remarks.

There is scarce occasion for any remarks on this le King JAMES affures them, he will defend an protect their religion, though, at the fame time, he wi take care, that his authority shall shine in the greate lustre; and therefore recommends to them, to brin those, whom he brands with the odious names of mu derers and affassins, to condign punishment: but it well known, that the fufferers detested all principles affaffination, while the foldiers murthered by AUTHORIT I shall not trouble the reader with the speeches of the Commissioner and Chancellor, which followed the read ing of the royal letter, nor with the Parliament's at fwer to it, which was the echo of it, further than observe, that they promised to leave nothing undon to extirpate all fanaticism, especially FANATICAL mu derers and effaffins.

protestant religion.

The first thing they did, was a short and general ad curing the for the security of the protestant religion, which passe without a struggle, since those patriots, who opposed the test, were out of the way; but there was little ground notwithstanding all laws, nay, and royal affurances, t expect the security of the protestant religion, under a po pish Prince, whom, to their shame, they owned as Al SOLUTE, as appears from their offer of duty, and th declaration they made. Th 0

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In this declaration, they fay, among other things, 1685. That they abhor and detest, not only the authors and aftors of all preceeding rebellions against the Sovereign, but likewise all principles and positions, which are contrary or derogatory to the King's facred, fumeme, fovereign, A BSOLUTE power and authority, which none, whether persons, or collective bodies, can paricipate of any manner of way, or upon any pretext, but in dependance on him, and by commission from him. And as their duty formerly did bind them, to own and affert the just and legal succession of the samed line, as unalterable by any human jurisdiction; ho now on this occasion, they, for themselves and the whole nation represented by them, in most humble and dutiful manner, do renew the hearty and fincere offer of their lives and fortunes, to affert, support, defend and maintain King JAMES VII. their present glorious Monarch, and his heirs and lawful fuccessors, in the possessions of their crowns, sovereignty, prengatives, &c. against all mortals."

The same day, the Council, having early intimation Proclama-Argyle's intended invasion, published a proclamation, tion. putting the Kingdom in a posture of defence. tworth while, to take notice of the flattering title ren to the late King, our dearest brother of renowned deternal memory. By this proclamation, the militia the eastern shires, and all able to bear arms in the thern shires, were commanded to be in readiness, h fourteen days provision; and particular care was en of the sea-coast towns. All this preparation was

more than might have been expected. Next day, April the 29th, the Marquis of Athel was Marquis de Lord Lieutenant of the shires of Argyle and Tar- of Athol

and ordered to march with some forces to that shire. tenant of wherever he marched, the people were obliged to Argyle-

nish them with baggage-horses.

The fame day, a most bloody murder was committed Five kilon five persons near Inglisteun in the parish of Glen-led near m. One Andrew Watson, perhaps the same con-Inglifned in the murder of the Curate of Carsphairn (p. 7.) was an artful spy among the biding-people, who,

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after that affair, deferted him. He got himself app hended, and a sham sentence of death passed upon h He escaped, and tried to join the wanderers once mo but they would have nothing to do with him; who upon he threw off the mask, and listed himself a sold Being tolerably well acquainted with their hiding place he discovered a cave, near Inglistoun, which had been place of fecrecy among them, for fome years. Colo James Douglass and Lieutenant Living stone came si denly to this cave, where they furprized John Gib brother to James Gibson the heritor of the place, Jan Kennoch in Glencairn parish, Robert Edgar, Robert M chel, and Robert Grierson. The foldiers fired into cave, by which one of them was wounded. rushed in, and, without asking any questions, or ma ing any offers, Douglass condemned them to be shot rectly. John Gibson was first permitted to pray, whi he did, to the admiration of the foldiers. He fungp of Psal. xvii. read John xvi. and, after he prayed, shot. He had a short interview with his sister, and to her, that this was the most joyful day he ever had. H mother also got access to him, and he requested her to grieve, but to bless the Lord, on his account, who h made him both willing and ready to suffer for his cause a interest. The rest were dispatched all at once, without being allowed to pray separately. One of them was a killed out-right, which one Fergusson an apostate of ferving, thrust him through the body with his fwo The last words that poor man spoke, were, Thou every bair in my head were a man, I am willing to die those deaths for Christ and his cause. They lie bur in the church yard of Glencairn.

Sufferings of the family. About this time, the heritor of Inglistoun had his lar given to the Laird of Stonehouse, who not only possess the estate, but likewise seized on 2048 l. of Lady Ingletoun's portion, and reduced her and her children to the greatest straits, merely for pretended converse with sons and friends, who could not conform to the inique of the times.

John Semple, &c. murdered.

Sometime this Month, Dundass the Commander Blaquban garison, being informed of one John Sem

he parish of Dally in the shire of Air, detatched a 1685 y along with Fergusson the informer, who, about night, furrounded the house. John, hearing a cond noise of feet, and judging what it was, tried to esout at a back window; but five or fix of the party erving him, discharged their pieces, and killed him the spot. It was, in this month of April, that one er Inglis shot John Burrie in the parish of Evandale, wigh he had his pass in his hand.

The month of May continues the bloody scene. The Murder of ming of the first day of this month was ushered in, J. Brown the barbarous murder of John Brown in Priestfield, in Priestthe parish of Muirkirk, a pious folid Christian, and of at use to young people. He was a carrier to his em-

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yment, and was usually called the Christian Carrier. is morning, between five and fix o'clock, having permed family worship, he went out to his work, and was rounded by Claverbouse, with three troops of horse, and night back to his own house. After he had distinctly anred some questions, Claverbouse said to him, Go to your yers; for you shall immediately die; and when praying, trupted him three times. After he had done, he faid his wife, who was present, with her child in her arms, another child of his first wife's, Now, Isabel, the is come, of which I told you, when I first proposed

; I have no more to do but die; I have been in case to t death for many years; and then he kiffed his wife children, and bleffed them, wishing all purchased promised bleffings to be multiplied upon them. en Claverhouse ordered fix soldiers to shoot him; ich being done, the wretch said to the widow, What

riage to you; to which she replied, Indeed John, I

willingly part with you. This, faid he, is all I de-

skest thou of thy husband now, woman? She said, I thought much good of him, and as much now as ever. said, It were but justice to lay thee beside him. She reed, If you were permitted, I doubt not, but your cruelty

and go that length; but how will you answer for this ming's work? He answered, To man I can be answer-, and as for God, I'll take bim in mine own band.

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He then marched off, and left her with the cor She set the child on the ground, gathered his scatte brains, tied up his head, covered his body with plaid, sat down and wept over him. He was buried the end of his own house; and Claverbouse is said have frequently acknowledged, that John Brown's pramade such impressions on his spirit, that he could ne get them altogether worn off, when he gave himself berty to think. When Mr. Peden married this so Brown, 1682, he said to the bride, Isabel, you ha got a good man to your husband, prize his compa and keep linnen by you for his winding-sheet; for you

shall need it, when you are not looking for it, and

P. Walker.

Asts of Parliament.

will be a bloody one. On this first of May, the Parliament made two ad for facilitating processes for treason now depending fore the Justiciary; by the one, they ratified thed tom formerly used in proceeding against prisoners 24 hours but, for the future, allowed them to cited in 48 hours; fo that by this, a parliamentary p don and protection was given for former violations the rights and liberties of mankind; and two days we only granted, for men to make their defences, upon The other act ordains, that, if those w are fummoned, as witnesses, in case of treason, house field-conventicles, or church irregularities, refuse fwear, they shall be liable to be punished, as guilty those crimes, in which they refuse to be witnesses. T iniquity of this act cannot but be obvious. See vol. p. 305.

Argyle

Sails for

Scotland.

By this time, the Earl of Argyle being ready for expedition, and the Duke of Monmouth having engage that he would not stay in Holland ten days as him, embarked on the first of May with three shi and a considerable number of arms, and in three days reached Orkney. They had not above three hundr men in all. Mr. Blackadder son to Mr. John Blackadder, was sent ashore to get intelligence; Mr. Willing Spence went with him to visit an uncle of his at Kingwall the chief town; but both being discovered, we apprehend

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orehended by the old Bishop there. Mr. Blackadder 1685. s afterwards pardoned. This alarmed the country. gyle was for fending a party of fusileers to recover the Gentlemen; but he was diswaded from the attempt. d only a few prisoners were taken. From Orkney y steered their course, by the inside of the Wettern ands; and had they got in time to Isla, would have prized Balechan with a party of four or five hundred n; but they came just an hour too late. They next opt anchor near Tobermore in Mull, where they were tained three days, which was very much to their difvantage. From Mull they failed to Kintyre; and ne they were disappointed of many, whom they exded would join them. However, his Lordship d those with them, published their declaration, which, we have related, was drawn up by Mr. James Stuart dvocate. A short abbreviate of it cannot but be acptable to the reader, and is as follows:

HEY must be altogether strangers—in the Argyle's Christian world, who-are not fully con-declara: vinced,—that the whole reign of CHARLES II. tion. -was a constant and uniform course of perjury, apostacy, and violence, begun with open rebellion against God, the rescinding not only of particular laws; but—of whole unexceptionable Parliaments for the space of 27 years preceding,—and the cruel hedding of the best protestant blood, in the most unjust execution of the late Marquis of Argyle, and many other worthies, contrary to all law and reason, carried on by the fmiting and casting out of more faithful and pious pastors, and scattering-more true flocks, and followers of Christ, than was done in most of the ten primitive persecutions, and the deluging of these lands with all villainous debaucheries and abominable licentiousness, — and thenceforward accomplished by a most unrelenting perfecution, and oppression of the generality of God's people, in their consciences, persons and estates, in the following particulars—all too evidently feen and heavily felt, to need any explicit proof or demonstration. VOL. II. Cce

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As 1mo. Not only in the above-mentioned, open

" avowed revolting from God-"But next, and more particularly, in the connivi at Papists, their meetings and idolatrous masses, wh in the mean time, all PROTESTANT nonconform " are persecuted with endless severities; the rails " keeping up, and increasing standing forces,-"the exalting the King's supremacy—about the " ternal government and policy of the church; --" strange perversion of the high trust of the mil " committed to his Majesty, for the protection of go " fubjects, only to the invading and oppressing, by " less hosts both of Highlanders and Lowlanders, the b " parts of the kingdom; ——the forcing of poor peop " by --- exorbitant finings, imprisonments --- for " simple cause of nonconformity, to take arms in the " own defence, as at Pentland, Bothwel-bridge, and the " demeaning and executing them, what in fields, a " what on scaffolds, as the most desperate traitors; a " at the fame time, involving whole countries, up "the most slender and absurd pretexts of inevitable " tercommunings and reset, both in their crime a " punishment; the setting up the most violent-" men, to be ministers of the law, and packing jur " to the worst ends; ——the transporting of freemen " flaves; — the torturing of feveral — even five im " more, of conscientious nonconformists, within the 20 years, than of all forts of felons and malefactors Scotland, these 100 years by-past; ——the crueles

" cuting to the death of several hundreds, --- some " them, for their bare opinion about the King's brea

of trust, never before by them vented, but simple " declared upon examination, and most part of the " dispatched with that barbarous inhumanity, as the

"they were, by beating of drums, hindered to be to the people, their last and dying words; and so

of them—tried, fentenced, and put to death in " day; yea, the time and hour of their death indust oully concealed from them, that they might be

" off by a more mortal furprize; the impoli " and preffing of oaths without law; the eating

f men by free quarters,—the harraffing the best 1685.

That's of the country by four extraordinary circuits, pon one and the same subject of Bothwel-bridge, on surpose, as it were, to justify his Highness's judgment to his late Majesty, that it would not be well with Scotland—till the south of Forth was turned a hunting-field;—the industrious stifling—the detection of all popish plots; the shamming of mock-plots upon good protestants—and generally in the studied and constant ensuring—all, esteemed either fixed to the protestant interest, or well affected to their country's liberty.

This wicked mystery, we say, and conspiracy of popery and tyranny,—having made so great a progress, by the Steps above mentioned, is now at length evidently disclosed,—by the most suspicious—utting off of the late King;—the ascending of JAMES Duke of York to the throne,—notwith—standing his being twice excluded by the Commons of England; and that he neither hath given, nor can give, without an hypocritical and damning cheat, repugnant to to his profession, and contemptible to all ingenuous men, the oath and security, indispensibly required of him, before and at his entry to the govern-

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"Which things, being all of them either palpable perversions; or utterly inconsistent with the true and great ends of government, rendring our commonwealth our common calamity, and HIM, who pretends to be its protector, its most hostile enemy. We have been, and are, obliged and constrained by extreme necessity, and for common fafety (the fupreme laws) to take up just and necessary arms, in the name and fear of the great God, and the confidence of his mercy and affiftance, for our own and our country's relief, from the foresaid most grievous and intolerable tyrannies and oppressions, the defence and re-establishment of the true and pure christian religion, commonly called protestant, in opposition to that antichristian Roman religion, commonly called papistical, and the recovery and re-establishment of Ccc 2

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" all our just rights, liberties and privileges, according " as we stand indispensibly engaged thereto, both befor "God and man, and that against the said JAMES Duk " of York, and all other his accomplices, our most n tural and wicked enemies and oppreffors, defiring, " the first place, to be deeply humbled, each of us b " fore God, for our manifold fins and provocations, " pecially, our falsebeartedness and unsteadfastness in " and revoltings from, our great and manifold engage " ments to him, that alone hath brought upon us, a " these sad mischiefs; earnestly, and with our who " hearts, fupplicating, that he would cease from h " anger, cause his face to shine upon us, and save us for " his own name's fake. And in the next place decla ing, -that our -ends and designs, in this or " undertaking, are, 1st, the restoring and settling the " aforesaid true reformed protestant religion. --- 2dl "The suppression and perpetual exclusion of antichri "tian popery, with all its idolatrous superstitions an " falshoods, as also its most bitter root and offsprin " PRELACY, with its new and wicked head, the St " PREMACY, and all their abuses; ——and, 3dly, Th se restoring of all men to their just rights and libertie " especially, the recompensing of all sufferers, whether " unto blood, the loss of liberty and goods, &c.-" which things, as we-hope to accomplish, on through the presence of our God with us,—-fow " are most willing and resolved, that they be all settle " and perfected by a free, full, just and sovereign in " presentative of all the present undertakers, and suc " as shall, hereafter, sincerely concur and take part wit " us; and that, in fuch forms and ways, as God, b " his good providence, can only most happily direct an s' conduct us into; declaring and protesting further "that fince fuch have been—the treachery, per fidy, &c. of our adversaries,—we will never ente into any terms of capitulation—with them—."

After fignifying their resolution to prosecute the things, they conclude with a most pathetick invitation to all the lovers of truth to concur and join with them din

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this declaration had not that influence on the minds 1685. people, that might have been expected. The focieties ought that it opened a door for a too promiscuous adiffion,

When they were at Mull, the Earl fent letters to his He meets ends by his fon Mr. Charles, who went ashore at with dife Castle of Dunstaffnage, and used all his interest appointthat country; but, except a few volunteers, had but tle success; for they, whom he took for his friends, fely discovered all, and others were very backard to join him; and all that Mr. Charles got done, as placing a garifon in the Castle of Carnasory, the welling of Sir Duncan Campbel of Auchinbreck.

s fo The Earl continued a confiderable time in Kintyre, in pectation of having his numbers greatly increased; the had only one addition of about 300 foot and 100 offe. However, he received news, that Auchinbreck's in were ready, whom the Earl ordered him to march with an em to the Tarbet, and afterwards joined them there, with three companies from Ila, and three from Kintyre, mmanded by Colonel Aylief, Rob. Ephing stoun of Laps, and Major John Campbel, afterward executed at verary, and a troop of horse commanded by Rumbold. the Tarbet on the 27th of May, Argyle printed and perfed his declaration to his vaffals; which the reader Il find in my author's Appendix, No. 113. Here out 1000 men joined his Lordship, who new modelthis little army; but I must leave him for a while, till relate some intervening particulars.

On the 6th of May, " John M'Ghie of Larg in Gallo- J.M'Ghie way deceased, J. Russel of Cateraig, and John Russel of &c. fined. Arnes in Dumbartonshire, were forfeited and their blood tainted; and the two last ordered to be executed, when apprehended, for accession to Bothwel." The same day, Peter Gillies in Muiren-dside, John Brice Peter Gil-Westcalder, William Finneson or Fiddison, and Thomas hanged.

ung, both of the parish of Carluke, and John Binning, te hanged upon one gibbet, without being suffered so uch as to pray, at their death. Peter Gilles suffered oliderably for his nonconformity, during some of the teeding years; but the day before the Highlanders

came

1685. came to Falkirk, Mr. Andrew Ure the Curate of Muir

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66 Covenan

end-fide, got a party fent to his house next day. Ac cordingly, he and John Brice were both apprehended and Peter was threatened with immediate death, in presence of his wife, who was brought to bed, but a few days before, and was hurried away, without being fuf fered either to speak to her, or change his cloaths About an hour after, a party came back, and told her, that he had fignified, that she knew where his arms were and that if the discovered them, he should not be shot She calmly told them, be had no arms, that she knew of and if they got liberty to take his life, she would endeavour to fay, good is the will of the Lord, and be, who did al things well, could not wrong her nor hers. This put them into fuch a passion, that they threatned to burn he where she lay, &c. They rished the house, and took whatever they could carry with them, except some Bibles which they threw away. The two men were tied toge ther, and driven before them. When they were go about a few miles, they tied a napkin about Peter face, fet him on his knees, with a file of musketeer before him, and kept him half an hour in this posture P. Waland then carried him to the West Country. " As the marched through the parish of Carluke, they apprehend Cameron, ed William Fenneson and Thomas Young, and carried the four prisoners to Mauchlin, and seized one John Binning keeping some cattle, and took their Bibles from them." The day they were carried to Mauchlin, Peter Gillia wrote a most affectionate pious letter to his wife; and when there, they were examined by Lieutenant Ge neral Drummond, and a Jury of fifteen foldiers was im pannelled, and on the 5th of May were indicted; and on the 6th were condemned to be hanged, at the town' end; which being done, the foldiers, and two country

AR against the Civenants.

together.

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On the same 6th of May, the Parliament passed three The first was against the Covenants, by which i was decared, "that the giving or taking the national " Covenant, as explained 1638, or of the League and

men made a hole in the earth, and threw them all it

hap. 13. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

Covenant (so commonly called) or writing in defence 1685. thereof, or owning them as lawful, or obligatory upon themselves, or others, shall infer the crime and

pains of treason."

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This was a home-thrust; but very agreeable to the Remarks. of Parliament of a popish King, and highly proper for e introduction of popery; the national Covenant having, ver fince the reformation, been accounted the barrier gainst the Roman ANTICHRIST. Great contempt had ten cast on those sacred engagements, by the first Parament after the restoration; but now the giving or king of them, nay, the writing in defence of them, or he bare owning of them, as lawful and obligatory, are eclared treasonable. This was certainly iniquity estalifted by a law; and whatever flights are, or have en cast on these Covenants, yet they were the glory the nation; and it has been unanswerably proved, at nothing is contained in those solemn transactions, ut what, as my author justly observes, prior to the sueradded religion and tie of these oaths, was morally bliging on the consciences of all, by the divine law. short, this was an act, that could never have been nade, but by APOSTATE protestants under a popish rince.

By their next act, the conduct of the Council and Act obligteir Commissioners, in having fined husbands for their ing busives withdrawing from ordinances (p. 205, 206) was be liable proved of and declared legal; and the same conduct for their as ordained to be observed, in all time coming. It is wives. fficient here to observe, that this Parliament declared a

ractice legal, for which there never was any law.

The 3d act confirmed the sentence of forfeiture, and As apthe proceedings against J. Porterfield of Douchal proving 1. 323, 324) declaring the same to be agreeable to the the proceedings wis of the kingdom; and enacted, that the concealing against nd not revealing of supplies, given to, or demanded Douchal. r, traitors, is treason, and to be judged accordingly. On the 8th, the Parliament passed other three acts. Ast

I the first it was ordained, that all, who shall after-against ards preach at House or Field conventicles, or te present Conven-

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Remarks.

1685.

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This act discovers the true spirit of Antichrist, and nothing can be offered, as an excuse for it, but that those at the helm, were either papists, or acted from the prin ciples of flavery and oppression. It was reckoned House-conventicle, if five more than the family were pre fent; fo that whoever were guilty of preaching (no against the government; for had that limitation been made, there might have been some colourable pretend for this feverity) in fuch cases, were to be punished with If there was fermon in any house, where an were hearing without doors, that was a Field-conventicle and now not the preacher only, but the hearers of it were, by this act, condemned to die. If the reader con fider vol. I. p. 306, 307, that there are some s mitations there, but here are none, he cannot but h furnished with materials for proper reflections.

Act fining those who who refuse, &c.

I pass over the act for judicial confessions, and on observe, that the last act passed this day, declared a subjects, who resused to accept the offices of magistrate justices of the peace, constables, officers of the militia, any other employment laid upon them by his Majetty or his council, to be finable for their contempt; so that it must be a happiness to be out of Scotland, at the time.

Proclama-

On the 11th of May, the Council issued a proclamation, ordering all, capable of bearing arms, to be ready. This was no more than might have been expected, condering the news they must have received concerning. Argyle; but the blood shed this day, may justly sill all who have any bowels of compassion, with indignation and horror.

M. Maclauchlin and M. Wilson drowned at Wigtoun.

It was this 11th of May, that Margaret Maclauchli and Margaret Wilson were cruelly executed at Wight The revd. Mr. Rowan Minister at Penningham, who Margaret Wilson lived, was at pains to have the confitances of this affair well vouched, by credible winesses; from whose attestations my author gives the narrative.

d nothing was objected against the regularity of her other; but their children would, by no means, contem, and were therefore obliged to slee to the hills, ogs and caves, to avoid the fury of the persecutors, hough they were scarcely of age to be obnoxious to be laws, then in force. Mean while, their parents were charged, at their highest peril, not to harbour, or apply them, not to speak to them, or so much as see hem, without informing against them; and their father was fined for their alledged irregularities, and therwise harrassed by the quartering of soldiers, and, the oppressions he endured, was reduced, from a conderable affluence, being once worth 5000 merks, to attempt poverty.

His fon Thomas, a youth of 16 years of age, was need to the mountains last February, and continued a randerer, till the revolution; after which he served in landers under King WILLIAM, and, by his industry, recurred as much as enabled him to live in the same

ace, where his father had done before him.

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His two fifters Margaret and Agnes were obliged, in a beginning of this year, to wander through Carrick, alloway and Nithsdale; but when there was some abatement of the severities, upon the late King's death, they entured to Wigtoun, to see some of their suffering actaintances, particularly Margaret Maclauchlin, and the betrayed by one Patrick Stuart, who, under colour striendship, invited them to drink with him; and, pon their modestly refusing to drink the King's health, ent and informed against them, and brought a party and apprehended them. As if they had been the great-strange malesactors, they were put into the Thieves-bole; and, therefore time, were removed to the same prison, where the said Margaret Maclauchlan was confined.

Margaret Maclauchlan was a widow, and about 63 tars of age, a woman of more than ordinary piety.

Tudence and discretion, and nothing could ever be laid the charge, but her nonconformity, and refusing the ticked oaths then imposed. She was apprehended on the Lord's Day, when performing family-worship, and Vol. II.

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1685. clapt up in prison, where she met with cruel treatmen At last, she, together with Margaret and Agnes Willed were, about the end of April, brought to their til before the Laird of Lagg, Colonel David Graham Sh riff, Major Windram, Captain Strachan, and Provo Cultrain, and were indicted for rebellion, Bothwel bridge Airsmoss, and being present at 20 Field-conventicles but it was impossible any of them could have been acce fary to these risings; but here was the case, they all n fused the abjuration-oath; and it was very odd, that should be offered to Agnes Wilson, who was then scare 13 years of age; but perfecutors stick at nothing They were brought in guilty, and condemned by the monstruous Judges, to be tied to two stakes within the flood-mark of the water of Blednoch near Wigtoun, an there to be drowned. They received their fentence with much composure, and surprising chearfulness in the countenances, accounting it their honour to fuffer for Christ and his truths. Agnes the young girl got of upon her father's giving a bond of 1001. Sterl. but the other two fuffered according to their fentence.

Their bebaviour at their execution.

On the last of April, the Council had this affair und their confideration, and suspended the execution to uncertain time; and recommended to the fecretaries procure their remission. The day to which they we reprieved is blank in the registers; but we may ver fafely suppose it would be for a longer day than the 11 of May, there being scarce time between the 30th April, and that day, to get a return from the Secret ries; but notwithstanding this, the barbarous sentend was executed. Windram guarded them to the place execution, attended by a vast number of spectators, behold fuch an unusual fight. The old woman's state was fixed a good way beyond the other, and so she was first dispatched, the more to terrify the other, into compliance with fuch oaths and conditions, as they re quired; but in vain; for she adhered to her principle with unshaken stedfastness. When the water was over flowing her fellow-martyr, the persecutors asked he what she thought of that sight, she answered, What I see but Christ in his members wrestling there? Thinkyou

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bat we are the sufferers? No, it is Christ in us; for he 1685. inds none a warfare on their own charges. When Marwet Wilson was at the stake, she sung Psal. xxv. from ver. 7. read the 8th Chap. of the Romans, and then prayed. While at prayer, the water covered her; but efore she was quite dead, they pulled her out, and when able to speak, she was asked, by Windram's orters, if she would pray for the King. She answered, he wished the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none. One deeply affected faid, Dear Margaret, fay, God fave the King, fay, God fave the King. She answered, with the greatest steadiness and composure, God save im if he will; for it is his falvation I defire. which fome accounts fay, that Lagg cried, D-d B—ch, we don't want such prayers; tender the oaths to ber. It is certain, what she said did not satisfy; for Windram charged her instantly to take the abjuration, otherwise to return to the water. She most deliberately refused, and said, I will not, I am one of Christ's children, let me go; and immediately was thrust into the water, where the finished her course with joy, and died a virgin-martyr, aged 18 years. Upon the whole, the reader must see, that these two suffered entirely on account of their refusing the abjuration. Reflections are needless.

On this 11th of May, a young man, Andrew Histop, Andrew in the parish of Hutton was barbarously murdered. One Histop of the wanderers happened to die at his mother's house, murdered. and was buried, in the night time, in the adjacent fields: but the grave being discovered, Sir James Johnstoun of Wester raw came with a party, and barbarously dug up the body; and, finding that the corps came out of widow Histop's house, they pillaged and pulled the house down, and drove her and her children to the fields. Claverbouse seized this Andrew, on the 10th of May, and brought him to Wester-raw, who, to signalize his loyalty, would have him dispatched in the fields; and accordingly passed sentence of death upon him. Claverbouse was backward at this time, and urged for a delay (perhaps the impressions of J. Brown's murther were not yet worn off (p. 375, 376) but Wester raw preffed Ddd 2

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1685. pressed it, till Claverbouse at last yielded, saying, T blood of this poor man be upon you Wester-raw; I am fr of it. Then he commanded a Highland Captain, who w there, to order the execution; but he, drawing his High landers to a convenient distance, sware, that ber nain would fight Claverhouse and all bis dragoons first. When upon, he ordered three of his own men to do it. Whe they were ready to fire, they bid Andrew draw his a or bonnet over his face. Being of an undaunted co rage, he refused, and told them, he could look h death-bringers in the face, without fear; for he had don nothing, of which he was ashamed; and, holding u his BIBLE, charged them to answer for what they ha done, and were to do, at the great day, when the were to be judged by that BOOK. He was buried when he was shot in Craighaugh in Eskdale muir. Th Wester-raw was once a Covenanter, and an opposer the Test, which he, at last, embraced, and became bloody perfecutor, and died, about the revolution, in great torture of body, and horror of conscience.

Other three murdered.

On the faid 11th of May, Major J. Balfour, Captai 7. Maitland, — Menzies, — Mackenzie, at prehended three countrymen, T. Cook, J. Urie, and I Tam, at Polmadie near Glasgow, and then asked the pr foners, if they would pray for King JAMES VI They faid, they would pray for all within the election grace. Balfour faid, Do you question the King's election They answered, that, sometimes, they questioned their our In a word, they were all three shot, within an hour, a ter they were taken. When dead, they drew off som of their cloaths, faying, they might do good to a fo dier; but perceiving their dogs licking their blood, the threw them on the corps again.

Andrew murdered.

One murder more was committed on this bloody day M'Quhan Lieutenat Colonel Douglas found a pious man, one An drew M. Quban, lying fick of a fever, and because h was either unable, or unwilling to answer his questions ordered him to be taken out of his bed on the 10th May, and carried him with him to the Newtoun of Gal loway, and next day to be shot without any trial.

On the 13th of May, James Kirko, in the parish of 1685. ir, was betrayed by a pretended friend, and feized by aptain Bruce and a party of dragoons. When appre-Kirko ended, the Captain offered him the abjuration, and murdered. pon his modest refusal, ordered him to prepare for prent death. Then he fung part of the 116th Pfalm, read portion of scripture, and prayed. He was next ofred his life, on condition he would discover the haunts f the wanderers. He excused himself, and said, he unst not redeem his life at so dear a rate. Whereupon, hey carried him to Dumfries water-sands, and, upon his clining to answer some more of their questions, orared him immediately to be shot. He begged to be pared till next day. No, no, faid the Captain, no more me, the devil a peace you now get made up. James said, ir, you mistake it, you cannot marr my peace with God. this the Captain raged, and, speaking to the soldiers, id, Dogs, make ready; for the devil a peace shall be get ore. Thus he was shot directly, without being allowed o pray.

About this time, one Matthew Donald, who had, for Matthew ar ome time, been in prison at Glasgow for nonconformity, Donald.

He disches and, though he was in a dying condition, was privated to be carried to Edinburgh. When they came Calder, he could walk no further; but the foldiers neeting a fledge on the road, most inhumanly tied him bit, and dragged him away, fo that he died among teir hands. But to leave this melancholy subject for

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On this 13th of May, the Parliament past the all for Alls of my, and ratified the forfeitures against Robert Ha- Parliathen of Monkland, Mr. R. Baily of Jerviswood and the ment. arl of Argyle; so that the greatest acts of injustice and ruelty were now ratified. The same day, they past er act for taking the Test, by which all protestant hetors, Liferenters, &c. were to swear this oath, by a train time fixed in the act, except women. The only mark that needs be made here is, that the test seems ow to be limited to protestants. The reader may easily uess the reason of this, when he remembers what the ing, when Duke of York, had threatened, p. 167. In

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the afternoon, they made an act concerning justices peace, who, by this, were to be nominated by the Cou cil, to have power of proceeding against church-irreg larities, and of the fines, a right to all delinquents, cept heritors. This was brave encouragement to go

in the work of perfecution.

Noblemen. &c. profecuted before the Parliament.

On the 15th, the process against the Noblemen a Gentlemen formerly mentioned (p. 326) came The late alledged conspira before the Parliament. was the pretence; but their opposition to prelacy the real cause. There were present Sir William So Cesnock elder and younger, Hay of Park, John W The rest named in the citation were a of Newtoun. fent. The King's letter, the Advocate's orders to pr fecute, the general indictment were all read, togeth with a libel or indictment against Harden younger, a two additional libels against Hay of Park and Ardk glass; but these things, with other preliminaries, omit.

Letter to the Duke of Gordon.

On the 17th, the Council wrote to the Duke of G don, and others in the northern shires, ordering them call forth the heritors, fince Argyle was now appearing about the Western Islands. The same day, they con manded Mr. Blackadder and Mr. William Spence to brought to Edinburgh; and on the 19th, all the he tors, on the fouth fide of Tay, were enjoined to atter on the King's hoft, and Lord Neil Campbel, Willia Cochran younger of Ochiltree, the Master of Melvil, a Pringle younger of Torwoodlee were ordered to enterin the Castle of Edinburgh.

Ravages of soldiers.

It is not to be imagined, what ravages the folding made, upon the news of Argyle's landing. Parties co tinually marched through the South and West, and nonconformists were sure to seel the effects of their sury

lames Forfyth.

One James Forsyth, in the parish of Lochmaben, w feized and fent prisoner to Wester-raw, who offered let him go, if, with uplifted hands, he would fwear a fay, God bless King JAMES VII. Forsyth asked his what he meant by bleffing the King? for his part, wished him well, and that all spiritual blessings mig be upon him. The other replied, he should own h

his lawful King, and that he should pray, long may 1685. elive, and well may he prosper in all bis actings and needings. James told him, he could not do that, beause he was a Papist and a persecutor. He was next ramined by Claverhouse; but they were restrained from outhing his life; however, they fent him prisoner to dinburgh, and from thence to Burntisland. His wife aving come to see him, was sent prisoner with him, y to her charge. They were both sent to Dunnotter, here she was delivered, and died: and this brings me give a brief account of the peculiar hardships the illoners met with, who were fent thither. My author ad this tragical account from the papers of the revd. In John Frazer, and the distinct narratives of the forepentioned Quintin Dick and Mr. William Mackmillan. ho were among these unhappy prisoners.

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Mr. Frazer had gone to London, for his fafety and Mr. Frapprovement, about the end of 1678, or beginning of zer, &c. 679, and continued there, till the end of 1684, when feized. ewas, with feveral other Scotsmen, seized at a diffenting peeting in Foster-lane near Guild-hall, as Mr. A. Shields as preaching. Mr. Shields fays, that at this private Hind let tetting at London, among others, some Scotsmen of loose, p. try mean figure, some taylors, a shoemaker, a chap-217. nan, were taken, and being found Scotsmen, were not my examined at the common courts there, but put kewise in Newgate, where they were confined by Sir Indrew Forrester, by express commission from King HARLES, who threatned them, under a strange fort certification (confidering what fell out immediately ter) that affuredly they should be sent very shortly to wiland, if there was not a revolution of the government: ut, continues Mr. Shields, this revolution, following in few days, retarded it a little. However, foon after Duke of York mounted the throne, they were fent the Kitchin Yacht, with a guard of foldiers and a large of high treason. But when brought before the ouncil of Scotland, the amount of all the bustle about em, was their being questioned, on pain of death, bether they owned the King's authority; and though

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fome of them did own it, they were fent with others 168 51 Dunnotter.

Above 200 pri/oners fent to Burntifland.

The accounts of Argyle's invasion alarmed the Sea Ministry, so that, in consequence of a hasty resolution Mr. John Frazer, Mr. William M'Millan, Quin Dick, William Niven, William Campbel of Midd wellwood, his brother John, and many others in t prisons of Edinburgh and the Cannongate, were, ont 18th of May, to their great furprize, taken out of the respective prisons, without knowing what was to done with them, and carried out of town, under a strong guard, and delivered, at the Netherbow, to Douglass regiment, by whom they were conducted to Litt From thence, being in all above 200, they were p into open boats, and hurried off the shore, without b ing permitted to receive any necessaries from the friends, or relations, who never expected to fee the more. Next morning, about break of day, they land at Burntistand.

their bard- About 240 were there crouded into two rooms, ships there, the prison, where they continued for two days, and two nights, were denied liberty separately to ease natur had nothing allowed for their fubfiftence, and many them were not permitted to have bread and water for their money. When thus pent up, the Laird of Gosfor came from the Council, with orders to bring back, Edinburgh, as many, as would immediately swear the oath of allegiance and supremacy. About 40 complied the rest owning their allegiance, but refusing the supr macy, were referved for further miseries.

and on the road.

It would be tedious, to mention all their particular hardships on the road. After two days dismal confin ment at Burntisland, men and women together, the were committed to the militia of Fife. Most of the had their hands tied behind them. They who were humane, as to bring any necessaries for their support were beat off by the guard. Lieutenant Beton of Ki rinnie was so cruel as to beat some of the old wome among them, and otherwise abuse them, because the could not walk fo fast, as they would have them. their journey, when thrust into houses and prisons, the we hap. 13. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

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ere so crouded, that they were almost suffocated, and 1685.

Among other miserable sufferers, was one Eupham Sufferings brepland, the wise of George Machirnie merchant in of Eumanies, who, from her husband's death 1681, unpham Threparement a scene of trouble. When the rest of the priland. Threpland, just now mentioned, were delivered to the guard, Corporal came and told her, that she must likewise go with them. Remonstrances were in vain; for though we was unable to travel, that was not admitted as any acuse; they placed her behind one of the dragoons, and hurried her after them, without suffering her to ake any refreshment; and thus she joined the rest of the erself of the unstable of the sufferers at Burntisland.

At last, on Lord's-day, 24th of May, they were all, Prisoners scept a few, that made their escape on the road, brought to rought to Dunnotter Castle, and received by George ter, Dunnotter Castle, and received by George ter, Dunnotter, was thrust into a dark vault, under ground, which had but one small window, towards the sea. It their bardwas full of mire, ancle deep. In this dreadful place about start of them were pent up almost the whole of this summer, without air, without ease, without room either to lie or walk, and without any comfort, except what hey had from heaven. They were obliged to purchase

tere so sufficiently with the smell of the place, and of their own excrements, that, as several of them died, so was a wonder of mercy any survived such an unparalleled calamity. When they had all continued together in the great vault, the Governor was pleased to remove about 40 of the men to another small vault, without any light but what came in through a small crevice. The Governor's Lady came to see the prisoners, and revailed with her husband to remove 12 of the men

he worst of provisions at an extravagant rate.

om the 40, and the women from the large vault into wo rooms, which was a great relief.

The intolerable hardships these poor people endured Cruelty to the solution of them to attempt their escape; accordingly, attempted bout 25 of them got out one night by the window to- to make ards the sea, and crept along a dangerous rock, to the their escape.

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utmost hazard of their lives; but the alarm being foor given, 15 of them were retaken, and most inhuman beat and bruised; and when brought back to prison were put into the guardhouse, bound and laid on the backs on the floor, and most dreadfully tormented William Niven, Peter Ruffel, and Alexander Dalgleishin Kilbride were laid on their backs, on a form, their hand were tied to the foot of it, and a firey match put be tween every finger of both hands, and fix foldiers wait ed by turns to blow the match, and keep it equal with their fingers. This was continued for three hours, with out intermission, by the Governor's order. W. Nive loft one of the fingers of his left hand. Alexander Dal gleish and one more, died of the torture; and severa others had their fingers burnt, and the very bone turned to ashes.

Petition of Grizel Cairns, &c.

Such were their hardships, that Grizel Cairns and Alison Johnstoun, in behalf of Mr. William Macmillan and Robert Young wright in Edinburgh, their husbands and the rest of their fellow prisoners, presented a peti tion to the Council, representing their intolerable grie vances, and praying for redrefs. The Council, on the 8th of June, took their petition under consideration, and ordered the Deputy-governor, to suffer meat, drink and other necessaries, to be brought to the petitioners, by their friends or fervants, at the ordinary easy rates, and to allow Mr. Macmillan and Robert Young a distan room from the rest, and all the prisoners to have bette accommodation. This so nettled the Governor, that he drew up a declaration, in his own favour, obliging the subscribers to testify, that they had good usage, and wanted not conveniencies, fince they came to Dunnotter but there were very few, that figned this, the ref absolutely refusing to attest a falsehood. After this, in July, the Earls of Errol and Kintore were appointed to examine the Dunnotter prisoners, whether they owned the King, and would submit to his authority; whether they would pray for him, and renounce the apologetical At last, the prisoners were brought south the consequences of which shall be related in its prope place, William Campbel of Midlewelwood (p. 392) with difficulty ifficulty, escaped banishment, and came home; but 1685.

ext year was apprehended and put in prison in the

cannongate, from whence he was, after a long imprisonment, released, upon paying 1200 merks fine.

On the 22d of May, the indictment was read, in Par-Sir John ament, against Sir John Cochran, Polwart, Torwoodlee, Cochran, and the heirs of Mr. Martine. Sir John's trial came on the forenoon; all that appeared against him, was, hat he had conversed with others, about proper methods or preventing the ruin of the nation. Mr. Carstairs's printed declaration, contrary to former promises, was read. In short, he was brought in guilty, and condemned, as in the sentence against Jerviswood (p. 334) and in the afternoon, the same sentence was pronounced gainst the rest.

The same day, the Parliament passed the act for Act for aking the oath of allegiance, whereby they ratisfied all taking the nat the Council, the Justiciary and their commissioners allegiance. and done, in banishing, imprisoning and fining the resulters of the said oath, &c. The reader has seen how much innocent blood was shed on this score, and must udge whether, by this act, the Parliament did not

bring the guilt of it upon themselves.

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Mr. Renwick, who still preached in the fields, having, on Mr. Renthe said 22d of May, preached to a considerable number wick. of his followers, and received several, into the societies, who professed their repentance for taking the abjuration and the test, &c. the Council, on the 25th, ordered Lord Carmichael to call all suspected persons to an account, and to take care of the country of Carrick, by securing the arms and horses of all suspected persons, the better to prevent the designs of Argyle.

On the 27th, the indictment was read against Sir Sir T. Thomas Stuart of Cultness, for sending meat and drink to Stuart of the people at Bothwel, his receiving men that came from thence, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to die.

His case was much the same with Blackwood's, p. 208.

Tho' the followers of Mr. Renwick were not free to join the Earl of Argyle, on account, as they faid, of the too promiscuous admission of persons to trust in that party, and because they could not espouse his declaration, as

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the state of their quarrel, being, as they apprehended not concerted according to the constant plea of the Scott COVENANTERS, yet, against the usurpation of a bloody papist, they published another declaration at Sangubar on the 28th of May, of which I cannot but give the following short extract:

teflation and declaration at

Their pro- " TT hath pleased the holy and wife God, to exercise " I the church of Scotland, now of a long time, with " wreftling and warfaring, under the yoke of crue Sanquhar. " oppressions. — All this — we have met with, as " just upon the Lord's part, though unjust upon mans, " for our manifold fins and iniquities; and, in a special " manner, for our not purging our judicatories and of armies, when the power was in our hands, of men " disaffected to the cause and interest of Christ,-" and for inordinate affection to, and lusting after the " deceased Tyrant CHARLES II. and advancing him " to the regal throne, even while known, by many " palpable discoveries,—to retain his beart-enmity " at the COVENANTED work of reformation, --- And " howbeit, --- when we were brought to a very small remnant, we did, by open declarations, disclaim his of pretended authority; ——all which we do hereby ra-" tify and approve. "So now the Lord—having removed the fore-

" faid CHARLES by death; and a few wicked and " unprincipled men, having-proclaimed JAMES "Duke of York, though a profest papist, and excom-" municate person—to be King of Scotland, &c. We " the contending and fuffering remnant of the true

" presbyterians of the church of Scotland --- do, here "deliberately, jointly and unanimously, protest against the foresaid proclamation, -- in regard, that it is

the chusing a murderer to be a governor, who hath " fhed the blood of the faints; —the height of con-" federacy with an idolater, which is forbidden by the

" law of God, --- contrary to the declaration of the " affembly 27 July, 1649, and to many wholfom and

" laudible \* acts of parliament—and inconfiftent with the fafety, faith, conscience and christian liberty of a 66 christian christian people, to chuse a subject of Antichrist to be 1685. their-fupreme Magistrate; for it could not but be both highly finful and irrational for us, to intrust an enemy, to the work and people of God, with the interests of both.

" Also conceiving, that this pretended Parliament is not a lawful Parliament, in regard, that the election of commissioners is limited, -that the members are convicted of avowed perjury, --- are men of blood, the chief being convict of avowed murder. - We do, in like manner, upon these and many other important grounds and reasons, protest against the validity and constitution of this present Parliament, and their proceeding to any approbation, or ratification of the foresaid proclamation.

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" And further, feeing bloody Papists, the subjects of Antichrist, are become so hopeful, bold and confident, under the perfidy of the faid JAMES Duke of York, and popery itself——like to be intruded again upon these covenanted lands, and an open door being made thereunto, by its accurfed and abjured harbinger prelacy, which these three kingdoms are equally sworn against: We do, in like manner, protest against all kind of popery, in general and particular heads, -abjured most explicitly by our national covenant, abrogated, annulled and rescinded by our \* acts of \* Act 3d

parliament, and against its entring again into this and 31 land, and against every thing, that doth, or may, di- Parl. 1/1, rectly or indirectly, make way for the same, disclaim- Parl. 11, ing, likewise, all sectarianism, malignancy, and any Act 114 confederacy therewith.

"Moreover, taking to our ferious confideration Parl. 20. the low-flate of the churches of England and of King Ireland, --- all bound, in one covenant and folemn JAMES kague together, we (in the bowels of Christ) do, in like manner, admonish you our brethren, ---- that ye remember, how far you have fadly failed in pursuing the ends of our covenants, &c.

"Finally, we being misrepresented to many, ---- as persons of murdering and assassinating principles: all which principles and practices we do, hereby, declare, · before

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" persons, reputed to be of us,—as the unwarrant able manner of killing the curate of Carsphairn.—'

Remarks. Hind let loose. Mr. Renwick's Life.

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1685.

This then is the substance of their declaration against popery, when open attempts were made for its introduction; and though it was not so much condemned, a any of their former declarations, yet they had not the concurrence of any ministers and professors; and, which is surprizing, it was never a ground of persecution from the managers, particularly and expressly declared, the as Mr. Shields observes, "for its matter, it was so con spicuously consonant, not only to the old principles

"but even to the common grounds of Argyle's declara

"tion of war against this \* usurper, then generally es poused by presbyterians." But to proceed.

K. James VII.

Ast ratifying the opinion of the Lords, &c. On the 2d of June, the Parliament approved and confirmed the opinion of the Lords of Council and Se fion, November, 1684, making those guilty of high treason, who should own, or refuse to disown, the so cieties apologetical declaration, in so far as it declares, so and all the processes, that had been, or should be, of that score. It would seem, one chief part of the bust ness of this Parliament, was to ratify the former proceedings of the ministry; but it don't appear, that they approved of the orders given for killing in the fields, THA being too large a pill, to be swallowed, even by such Parliament, as this.

Att for re-

\* Leases.

Another act, past this day, was that for regularity by which it was ordained, that all masters, whether he ritors, liferenters, &c. should insert, in all \* tacks to the tenants, an express clause, whereby the tenant sha oblige himself, that he, his family, cottagers and se vants, shall live peaceably and regularly, free of all so natical disorders, under the penalty of losing the ha of their moveables, each for their own fault; so that by this act, all presbyterians were excluded from having any leases.

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ap. 13. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

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Their next act, this day, ratified the act and pro- 1685. amation of Council for raising the bue and cry (p. 191, 92.) By another act passed this day (for I omit that Other out adjudications for fines, because I don't understand was for fecuring the kingdom, by which every mafof a ship was obliged to bring all his passengers, at eir arrival, before the next magistrate, to give an acount of themselves; and the same must be done, when ersons go out of the kingdom, under the penalty of th fines and corporal punishment, on the master of te ship, as the Council shall think fit. There were me other acts passed this day which I omit.

On the 4th of June, they made a very strange act Act indemor securing the present Council, the secret Com-nifying the ittee, the judges and officers of the army, and all officers of ther Commissioners, as follows: "Our Sovereign Lord, confidering the great and acceptable fervices done to his Majesty, by these just now mentioned, and being defirous to secure them for their actings and omissions —doth, with advice and confent of his estates of Parliament, indemnify and fecure all and every one of them—against all pursuits or complaints, that can be raifed against them, any manner of way, for their actings in his Majesty's service, as likewise for their omissions—and that as fully, as if every particular crime or misdemeanour were particularly specified, in a remission under his Majesty's great seal," &c.

How powerful are the stings of an evil conscience! Remarks. had not the managers been conscious of unprecedented noceedings, it is hardly to be imagined, they would ave procured such an act as this, which is a standing lot on their memories, in the records of the nation. lad they acted agreeable to the laws of God and man, had their consciousness of guilt excited them to seek ardon from the Almighty, for the innocent blood in leir skirts, why a parliamentary indemnity? But it is be feared, the pardon, granted by a wicked parliabent, will stand them in small stead, when they shall pear before that Judge, from whose sentence there can

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1685. Mr. R. Fergusfon.

The same day, Mr. Robert Fergusson was tried, in ab fence, found guilty, and condemned, upon the declaration of West and Burn. My Author observes, that, if there was any formed defign against the King and the Duke, he was privy to it: but none of the rest were any ways accessary.

Claverhouse's proceedings.

On the 6th, Claverhouse, with a party, apprehended multitudes, and forced many of them to swear, never to take arms against King JAMES VII. on pretence of religion, and carried fuch as refused about with them prifoners, binding them by two's and three's.

Two murdered ofter quarters given.

On the 10th, Lord Annandale and his party feized David Halliday in Glencayre and George Short, and gave them quarters till next day; but when Lagg came up he infifted upon having them prefently dispatched; neither the entreaties of the poor men, nor the declaration of Lord Annandale, that he had promifed them life, till next day, could prevail; for they were shot, by Lagg's orders, just as they lay fettered on the ground, and their bodies continued in their gore, till next day.

G. Macadam murdered.

This fame month, Gilbert Macadam son-in-law of James Dun (p. 348) having been banished for his nonconformity and purchased his freedom, returned home but meeting with fome friends for prayer at a house near Kirkmichael, a company of militia, under the command Colzean, surrounded the house. Gilbert being most obnoxious, tried to escape; but the soldiers perceiving him, discharged their pieces, and killed him on the spot.

J. Brown.

About the middle of this month, as James Brown in the parish of Coulter was fishing, Claverbouse apprehend ed him, and, had it not been for the Laird of Coulte rallers, would have shot him presently; but he was carried to the English border, and from thence to the prifon at Selkirk, out of which he happily made his el cape.

Other murders.

There were feveral other murders in the fields of which I have not their dates, as that of William John stoun gardiner to the Laird of Fintilloch, George Walker fervant in Kirkauly, and John Milroy chapman,

were apprehended by Major Windram, who, after 1685. asking some questions, ordered them all to be hanged at Wigtoun the day after they were feized. A party of foldiers overtook Joseph Wilson, John and Alex. Jamison, and John Humphrey at Knockdon-bill, as they were coming from hearing Mr. Renwick, and shot them all, except Alex. Jamison. The same day, a party of dragoons took Simon Paterson, and David Dun, and, without any trial, hanged them at Cumnock. Peter Inglis Cornet, fon to Peter Inglis, with some soldiers, decoyed Thomas Richard of Muir-kirk, an old man of 80 years of age, into a confession, that he had enterained some of the wanderers, and then delivered the good old man to Colonel Douglass, who, without any jury or trial, ordered him to be executed at Cumnock, next day, notwithstanding the intercession of some adies of the episcopal perswasion. One William Paterson son to Robert Paterson in the parish of Cambusnethan was shot, without any trial, by order of Captain Bell. This good man had endured a great deal of trouble, during the former years: but now his troubles were brought to a period. The reader cannot but make proper reflections on so many murders, and judge who they were, that truly deferved to be called murderers and affaffines.

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On the 11th of June, the Parliament passed an act, As a-which they called an address against the arch-traitor gainst the Archibald Campbel sometime Earl of Argyle, wherein Argyle. they beg, that the Earl's samily, the heritors, ringleaders and preachers that joined him, should be, for ever, declared incapable of mercy and of bearing any honours or estate in the kingdom, and that all subjects be discharged from interceeding for them any manner of way. I shan't trouble the reader with remarks on this, it being so well agreeable to the principle of rooting out of hereticks: only I must observe, that the clause relating to the intercession of the subjects, was reversed in the next session.

Next day, James Napier, Alan Atkin, and John Some parleirson, who had been condemned by Colonel Dou-doned.

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1685. glass at Cumnock, for not discovering the rebels, wer

pardoned.

Lord Mel- On the 13th, Lord Melvil, Montgomery of Lang vil, &c. shaw and the two Cesnocks where separately tried, an all found guilty of accession to the plot. Mr. Car stairs's depositions, contrary to the publick faith, wer read against them. Sentence was passed against th first two, as in the other cases: but the time and place of the execution of Cesnock elder and younger were re ferred to the King. Tho' the Cesnocks were, after wards, pardoned and released, yet, by peremptor orders from the King, an express was dispatched b Lieutenant Colonel Murray, for apprehending then and conducting them to the Bass. The old gentlema died foon after, and probably his death was hastene by the hardships he underwent.

Att for the clergy.

The same day, they passed att for the Clergy by which all the acts, especially those made in th former reign, in their favour, were ratified, and a murderers and affaffines of bishops and ministers wer ordered to be punished, which was reasonable, and the parishioners, where any attempt should be made, weret pay fuch fums to their widows, as the council shoul fee proper: but this was a punishing the innocent wit the guilty. In a word, this act made the attempt t break or rob the houses of the clergy, to be death toth invader. My author justly observes, that a becomin ministerial carriage is a better hedge, than 20 such s vere laws, and that, before the restoration and since th revolution, presbyterian ministers required no such acts i their favour. He further observes, that this act was n bar in the way of the projected design of introducin popery, to which, in Scotland, prelacy still led the way.

By the 40th act of this Parliament, the Lands ing to the Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, Sir Patrick Hume Polivart, Thomas Stuart of Cultness, Pringle of Tor woodlee, George late Lord Melvil, Da. Montgomerie Langshaw, Cesnock elder and younger, Mr. Robert Marin Farl of Tarras, Mr. Robert Baily of Jerviswood, Il with Kennedy of Grange, Jo. Porterfield of Douchal, M William and Al. Gardons of Earlstoun, James Gordo younge

younger of Craighen, were, for ever, annexed to the 1685. rown: but this, with other unjust and oppressive acts, was reversed after the revolution.

On the same 13th of June, two regiments of sol-Ravages diers came into New Galloway, and, separating into of the ardifferent places, quite ravaged the country: nay about my. his time, the whole army came to the west country and committed innumerable abuses every where; so that the offes fustained by many, especially about the small village of Dalmellingtoun, are not to be calculated. The ands of Lord Stair and Cesnock were entirely plundered, but I must pass these things.

On the 16th, the Parliament referred the rest of the Parliaprisoners, that were to have been tried by them, to the ment ad-Justiciary, with power to the Lords to proceed against journed.

them, as if they had been summoned before them; accordingly their process came on next month. The same day, the Parliament annexed the offices belonging to the Earl of Argyle to the Crown, and was adourned to the last Tuesday of October, and afterwards to April next Year. Mr. Rapin justly observes, when mentioning some of the acts of this session, that, if what passed in Scotland in the reign King CHARLES I. and during the Interregnum, be remembered, this was not the sense of the Scots, but only the opinion of a Parment devoted to the King, and which visibly abused their authority, to establish a form of government directly contrary to the old constitution: but I shall leave the the reader to make his own reflections on this session of Parliament, and conclude this chapter with the further proceedings of the Earl of Argyle, till he fell in into the hands of his enemies.

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We left his lordship at Tarbet, where he published Motions of his Declaration to his clan. There he was joined with Argyle.

1000 men under Sir Duncan Campbel, and having modell'd his little army into three regiments, each conmodell'd his little army into three regiments, each con-Isting of not much above 500 men, he determined to have attacked Ballechan, who had not above 600 men with him: but Sir John Cochran and others with him would not give in to this proposal. A council of war

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1685. was called, where it was refolved, contrary to th Earl's fentiments, to invade the Lowlands.

Their attempt on the Low-

In consequence of this, the forces were transported the best way they could, to Cowal in Argylesbire, an lands fruf-Sir John Cochran, Colonel Elphing stoun, and Majo Fullerton were fent from thence to the Lowlands : bu by this time, the coasts were guarded, and som English frigates were come up; so that Sir John, no being able to land in the Largs in Airsbire, was force to put in about Greenock, in order to have intelligence and subsistance for their men. Upon their landing they put to flight some of the militia; then Sir Joh entered the town of Greenock, and endeavoured to pre vail with the Inhabitants to join, in defence of religio and liberty. He feized only about 40 bolls of mea bey instead of 200, which Argyle had ordered him to brin for the use of the army, and then, upon a false alarm retired in the night, and failed back to Cowal, an there, when it was too late, declared, that it was followed to attempt the Lowlands as yet, fince they were ever where well guarded by foldiers and the militia.

The Earl croffed in his design upon Inverary.

Upon this, Argyle renewed his design upon Invi rary; and for this end divided his small army, an gave the one half of it to Colonel Rumbold, whom h fent to guard a pass against the Marquis of Athol, an raise the country, as much as he could. He took the other half with himself to Inverary: but the win being contrary for several days, and the English sin hat, gates come up, he was obliged to shelter his vessel man under the castle of Allangreg, which having fortises were under the castle of Allangreg, which having joining as well as he could, and left two companies to guard in agly he then marched by land to Inverary, resolving to a tack the Marquis of Athol. Colonel Rumbold, in the mean time, marched with about 500 men and feize the castle of Ardkinglass. The Marquis of Athol sen off a large fishing-boat full of men, to know the Rum Colonel's strength: but Captain Duncanson, manning and a fishing vessel, chased the other within pistol-shot o pany the town. However, some regiments were ordered hum the town. However, some regiments were ordered hum the castle of Ardkinglass: but mist from Inverary to retake the castle of Ardkinglass: bu Argyl

rgyle, by this time, was got up with Rumbold. The 1685. ompanies of foot and two troops of horse, went to mack them, and, after putting the first body of them flight, returned to the castle of Ardkinglass, reliving, next day, to attack Inverary, notwithstanding he Marquis of Athol was four times his number: ut some of the gentlemen who were with his Lordhip, and had all along differed from him, threatned quit all, and go to the Lowlands; fo that he was bliged to leave the castle of Allangreg, with three ompanies of foot commanded by the Laird of Lapness, nd to order the rest, under Rumbold, and Sir Duncan Campbel, to meet him at the church of Glenderule, which hey did.

Two days after this, the garifon left in Allangreg, obliged to eing, as they faid, destitute of provisions, abandoned march to hat castle. The prisoners taken at Orkney, (p. 377) the Lowking left behind, acquainted the captains of the Enell into their hands. This difaster obliged Argyle o march into the Lowlands under a thousand disadvan-ages; for, when he crossed the water of Levin, a little bove Dumbarton, he found all the King's army and nilitia ready to oppose him, commanded by the Earl

f Dumbarton.

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The Earl and Ayloffe were for engaging, knowing, and to refrie bat, the' they were thrice their number, yet they had tire in the many friends among them: but his Lordship was again over-ruled, and a retreat was resolved on. Accordogly, at night, they marched off, leaving great fires their former camp: but their leaders mistaking their may, led them into a moss, which quite disordered hem, fo that, tho' they were a good army at night, here were not 500 of them together in the morning. Rumbold and many brave men lost their way. They the kept together came to Kilpatrick, and put a como pany of militia to flight. Sir John Cochran, Sir Patrick Hume and others crossed the Clyde. At length a skirnish happened at Muir-dyke in Lochwinnioch, in which aptain Clellan and some others were killed, and se-

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1685. veral wounded. On Sir John's side, a gentleman the name of Campbel was killed, Major Henderson, and Mr. Archer were wounded. The last of these was carried into a shepherd's house, where the enemy found him an brought him to Edinburgh. After this, they disperse and shifted for themselves the best way they could.

The Earl, in the mean time, according to his ow apprehend-account, finding it impracticable either to rally h friends, or return to Argyleshire, attempted to disgui himself under the appearance of a country man: bu he fell from one difficulty to another, till he was attacked at the water of Inchanan on the 17th of June, by two the militia, who laid hold of him, one on each fide, a on horse-back. He grappled with both, and one of them with the Earl went to the ground. His Lord ship got up and rid himself of them both, by presenting his pocket pistols, and would have made his escape had not five more come and knocked him down wit their fwords. When they knew who he was, the feemed to be much concerned: but durst not let him go. He was then brought in prisoner to the Earl Dumbarton at Glasgow, and thus this noble Peer wa once more in the hands of his enemies. Upon the whole, we may fee the mischief of divisions; for ha not his Lordship and those gentlemen, embarqued i the same cause, differed so much in their sentiment it is probable, they would have been more fuccessful Bishop Burnet lays the chief blame on Argyle, and o thers on Sir John Cochran and those that adhered t him: but it is not unlikely, there were faults on a fides. There were feveral taken as well as Argyle, the chief of whom were Sir John Cochran, Rumbold, Ailoff and the above-mentioned Mr. Thomas Archer, Gavi Russel and David Law; all these, except Sir Job Cochran and Ailoffe, were executed at Edinburgh. Abov twenty, who were taken in the Highlands, were hange at Inverary, and great Numbers were banished t America. But I must now proceed to

1685.

## CHAP. XIV.

of the Execution of the Earl of Argyle, Rumbold, Mr. Thomas Archer, and others; the proceedings of the Council and Justiciary, the sufferings of the banished, and other branches of oppression, to the end of the year.

WHEN the Earl of Argyle was apprehended, he Argyle was first brought to the town was first brought to the town of Renfrew, and, brought to hile refreshing himself there, he said to Thomas Craw-burgh. and of Crawfordsburn, to whom he had given a filver ouff-box in token of his respect, "Thomas, it hath pleased Providence to frown on my attempt, but remember, I tell you, ere long, O N E shall take up this quarrel, whose shoes I am not worthy to carry, who will not miscarry in his undertaking." From Renfrew his Lordship was taken to Glasgow, and from bence to Edinburgh under a strong guard, and, acording to the order of council, dated June 20th, was arried up the street, with his hands tied behind his ack, bareheaded in the midst of Captain Graham's wards: the hangman went before him, the horsewards before and behind: and thus his Lordship was onducted, in dismal procession, to the castle, and there aid in irons.

There was a great debate at Edinburgh, whether to Debate at bring him to trial for his present attempt, or to execute Edinim on the sentence pronounced against him, 1681: burgh.

170, 171.) but such was the zeal of the present managers, that they would not seem to call the justice of their former sentence in question, tho, by the way, the world must look upon it as the most unrighteous sentence, that could be passed: and therefore they boked upon him as already condemned. They were a sgreat pains to bring him to such a confession, as might anyolve others, frequently visited him, brought him several

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1685. feveral times before their committees, threatened hi with torture, and put many questions to him: th matters flood with him, till an express came fro court for his execution.

Mean while, Colonel Rumbold was taken, and brought to the 22d of June, was ordered, by the council, to Edinconducted to the castle in a cart, with a rope about h burgh. neck, fettered and bareheaded. The hangman's ma led the cart, Col. Graham attended with the guard with drums beating and colours flying, and next da the Advocate was ordered to profecute him before the Justiciary.

Council.

On the 24th, the Council issued a Proclamation of Proclama apprehending those concerned with the Earl of Argy which I shall not here insert. It is easy for the read to conceive the strain of it. Only I cannot but observ that it was something strange, to publish to the world in this proclamation, that Colonel Ayloffe endeavour to kill himself; for what was that to the case in hand My author fays, that the fact was very much questions by persons of good sense, who lived at that time: b if it was true, it had no relation to Argyle's attempt; on the managers were willing to improve every circun stance. Bishop Burnet tells us, "That great discov " ries being expected from him, he was brought

" London, where the King examined him in person " but could draw nothing from him, but one fever " repartee. Being fullen, and refusing to discove " any thing, the King said to him, Mr. Ailoffe, yo " know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore is " that, which may deserve it. Ailoffe, it is said, I " plied, That the it be in your power, yet it is not " your nature to pardon. Mr. Ailoffe was nearly relate " to the King's children, being nephew to the o " Earl of Clarendon by marriage; for Ayloff's au " was his first wife, so that had the consideration " this moved the King to pardon him, that, fays the

" historian, would have been an effectual confutation

" of his bold repartee: but he suffered as well others."

On the 25th, the Council ordered Col. Rumbold to be 1685. recuted in the following manner, that on the morrow, on is being found guilty by the Lords of Justiciary, he be ken from their bar to the Low-Council-bouse, and from hence to be led down by the hangman, with his hat on, othe scaffold, and there to be drawn up the gibbet, with rope about his neck, and immediately to be let down, is heart to be cut out by the hangman, and shewn to he people on the point of a bayonet or dagger, faying, me is the heart of a bloody traitor and murderer, and hen to be thrown into a fire prepared on purpose, in the scaffold; after that, his head to be cut off and hewn to the people, in the fame manner; and then is body to be quartered, one part of it to be affixed the port or tolbooth of Glasgow, another at Jedburgh, third at Dumfries, the fourth at the Newtoun of Galloway, and his head on a high pole, at the Westert of Edinburgh.

He bore the base insults of the council with much omposure, owned the crime he appeared for, and exrefled his joy in his fufferings; whereupon one of hem called him a confounded villain. He replied with he utmost sedateness, I am at peace with God thro' less Christ, to men I have done no wrong, what then

an confound me?

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On the 26th, he was arraigned before the Justiciary, Condemned brought in guilty, condemned and executed as above and exe-lirected. He was so weak, when brought to the cuted. full form of the state of the s wning and adhering to his distressed work and interest, hat such a lot was carved out for him, the drums o leat, at which he shook his head, and said, Will they of Suffer a dying man to speak his last words to the peok? and then went on, declaring his confidence of the ighteousness of the cause he was engaged in, and, mong other things, faid, " I confess, enemies think they have got their foot on the neck of the protestant "interest now; but I am persuaded, it is as true, as Vol. II. Ggg

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1685. " I am this day entering into eternity, that Christ shall be glorious in these lands, and even in poor Scotland and that shortly: and it is like, many, who see me " die this day, may be witnesses thereof; yea, he shall " govern these nations with a rod of iron, and that to " the terror of his enemies." After this he prayed and when praying for the extirpation of popery, prelacy and other superstitions, the drums beat again. He forgave the executioner and all men, and when he had again prayed within himself, he gave the signal, and

was executed according to the fentence.

Rurnet, P. 633,

Thus fell Richard Rumbold. "This was the perfor who dwelt in Rye-house where it was pretended, the plot was laid for murdering the late and presen King. He denied the truth of that conspiracy. H owned, he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that when the King departed from the legal measures o government, the people had a right to affert the liberties, and to restrain him. He did not deny, bu that he had heard many propositions, at West's cham bers, about killing the two Brothers, and upon that he had faid, it could have been eafily executed near hi house; upon which some discourse had followed, how it might have been managed: but he faid, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or fo much a resolved on." He further said, "he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind wit faddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, an fome few booted and spured to ride the rest." But t

Argyle's in prison.

return to Argyle. His Lordship's carriage, before his execution, wa behaviour both pious and edifying. While he was abroad, after h escape, he shewed himself to be a nobleman of singular piety, his afflictions being of great service to him. H spent the 28th of June, which was the Sabbath before his death, in a most becoming way. The manner, I which he took his leave of his fifter the Lady Lothia was very moving. While in the castle, he had the remarkable expressions, in conversation with a de friend. 45 M

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"My gross compliances are now sad and grievous to me; for these the Lord would not honour me to be instrumental in his work; but I desire to die, in the saith of a deliverance to his church and people; and though I will not take upon me to be a prophet, yet, having strong impressions thereof upon my spirit, I doubt not, but deliverance will come very suddenly, and I hope I shall be well. It is true, my samily is low, and I have nothing to leave them; but if they seek God, they will be wonderfully seen to and provided for; and if they do not, I care not what come of them. I fear some have eyed me too much, as an instrument. Lean not to the arm of sees."

On the 29th, a letter, from the King, was read in Council, ordering them to bring the Earl to condign punishment, within the space of three days after the retipt of it, and, in the mean time, to bring him to a confession of his associates and correspondents, &c. In consequence of this, his Lordship was ordered to be beheaded next day, and his head to be affixed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on an high pin of iron.

Accordingly, on Tuesday June the 30th, Argyle was on the day recuted. This day he wrote and ordered others to write of his executeral letters to his friends, particularly to Madam Smith cution, p. 170) to his excellent Lady, and others, which the

reader may see in my author. He declared, in the morning, to a friend, that he had more joy and comfort his day, than the day after he escaped out of the castle.

His Lordship dined with a grave and becoming at dinner, thearfulness in the Castle. "Mr. Charteris, says Bishop Burnet, happened to come in, as he was ending dinner, to whom he said pleasantly, serò venientibus ossa." And being used to sleep a little after meat, he retired to the closet, and laid himself down on a bed, and, for about a quarter of an hour, slept as sweetly and pleasantly as ever. Mean while, an officer of state came in and enquired for him. His friends told him, that his Lordship, as usual, was taking a nap after dinner, and desired, that he might not be disturbed. When he saw the Earl in that posture, he was so impressed, that he

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1685. hasted from the castle to a relation's in the Castlebill and throwing himself on a bed, discovered great diffres of mind; and when asked the cause of his trouble, said I have been in at Argyle, and faw him sleeping as plea fantly, as ever a man did, within an hour of eterrity but as for me. &c.

on the See fold.

The time being come, when Argyle must for ever leave the castle. He was, by the Council's permission, allowed two episcopal ministers to attend him, viz. Mr. Annan Dean of Edinburgh, and Mr. Laurence Charteris; for they would permit no presbyterian ministers to wait on him. Their discourse with him, and prayers on this tragical occasion, were very pertinent and becoming and his Lordship delivered a very judicious and pious discourse to the spectators, in which, among other things he faid.

His Speech.

" Job tells us, man that is born of a woman is of feat " days, and full of trouble; and I am a clear instance " of it. I shall not now say any thing of my sentence " or escape, ---- nor of the ground of my return;that which I intend mainly to fay now, is, to expres " my humble, and I thank God, chearful submissionte "his divine will, and my willingness to forgive all men " even my enemies. I know afflictions spring no

" out of the dust, --- are not only foretold, but pro " mised to Christians, and are not only tolerable, bu " desirable; ——for God chastises his own, to refin

" and not to ruin them, whatever the world thinks.-"I know many, like Hazael, 2 Kings viii. 13. go to " excesses, they never thought they were capable of

" Let rulers and others feriously read and weigh Prov " i. 20, &c. 2 Chron. xxv. 6-16; Prov. xxiv. 10

"11, 12, and xxviii. 10; and Isa. lix. especially ver " 15. and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good

" For me, I hope, by God's strength, to join with " Job xiii. 15, and the Pfalmist xxiii. 4, and to trul

" as Psal. exiviii. 11, and shall pray as Psal. lxxiv. 19 " &c. cxxiii. 6, &c. and Luke i. 74, 75, and shall hop

" as Pfal. xciv. 15. I do, hereby, forgive all that "directly, or indirectly, have been the cause of my be

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"ing brought to this place,—and pray God may for- 1685.

" give them, &c.

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When he had ended, he turned to the fouth fide of the scaffold, and faid, Gentlemen, I pray you, do not misconfrust my behaviour this day, I freely forgive all men, their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God. Mr. Annand repeated the words louder to the people; as he did, when his Lordship spoke to the same purpose, from the north side, and said, This Nobleman dies a protestant. The Earl stept forward again, and faid, I die, not only a protestant, but with a heartbatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition what soever. Having took his leave of his friends, he, at last, kneeled down and embraced the \* maiden, faid, This is the sweetest \* The inmaiden I ever kissed, it being the mean to finish my sin and strument misery, and my inlet to glory, for which I long. Then he ing. prayed a little within himfelf, thrice untering these words, Lord Jesus receive me into thy glory, and lifting up his hand, which being the fignal, the executioner did his work.

Thus died the noble Earl of Argyle, a martyr not only to the protestant religion, but also bearing his last testimony against prelacy as well as popery. His too great compliances with the managers, previous to the affair of the TEST, lay heavy upon him to the last: but nothing grieved him so much as the unhappy vote he gave against Mr. Cargil. Passing these things, as he was executed, not on account of his late attempt, but in pursuance of a sentence past three years before, for his explication of the self-contradictory Test, his death was looked upon as no better than murder.

The circumstances of Monmouth's invasion on England, Cruelties I must leave to the English historians. On the 6th of in the July, his army was defeated near Bridgwater, and him-England. Self, soon after, taken and beheaded. The cruelties committed by Kirk and bloody Jeffries, in the west, are well known. Kirk ordered several of the prisoners to Burnet, be hanged up, without so much as the form of law, he p. 647. and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health, a new prisoner was hanged

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Bennet's Memorial, p.

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hanged up. And they were so brutal, that, observing the shaking of the legs of those, whom they hanged, it was said among them, they were dancing, and upon that, musick was called for." It is said, "that Jeffries condemned above 500 persons, in a sew towns of the west, whereof 229 were executed; some found the benefit, I cannot say of the King's mercy, but of the Judge's avarice, who was ready enough to grant a pardon to such, as could pay well for it; and it seems, pardons were fold by bim at all sorts of prices, from 101, to 14000 guineas; which last sum, this judge of iniquity did not scruple to take from Mr. Sp—s, and with which he bought an estate, that may justly be called the field of blood." But to return to Scotland.

Rawages committed on the lands of Argyle.

As foon as the Marquis of Athol and Broad-albin heard of Argyle's being taken, they exercised great severity upon the Earl's friends and tenants. Four or five Gentlemen of the name of Campbel, after having received quarter and protection, when they furrendered, were fent to Athol by one of Argyle's near relations. The Marquis ordered them and 18 more to be put to death. He would have proceeded in that work, had not even the COUNCIL discharged more lives to be taken. Parties were afterwards fent to pull down houses, break mill-stones, and burn woods, and the whole shire of Argyle was dreadfully depopulated, and all that country harraffed and plundered for thirty miles round Inverary. Earl's estate was given to strangers, his children brought to extreme necessity, his creditors defrauded, his brother Lord Neil Campbel was forced to go, at the peril of his life, to America, and leave his Lady and family In a word, the heritors and Gentlemen of the name of Campbel, being generally averse to popery and prelacy, were univerfally oppressed through the kingdom.

banished.

On the 9th of July, 15 prisoners of the meaner sort taken with Argyle were banished to New-England.

Mr. Ar-

On the 13th, Mr. Thomas Archer (p. 190, 406) was before the Council, and by them referred to the Justiciary; but as his trial did not come on before the 12th

Chap. 14. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

of next month, I must relate the intervening transac- 1685.

On the 14th, the magistrates of Glasgow, presented a Order for petition to the Council, fignifying that their prison was burning peftered with many filly old women, who were a great cheek, &c. charge to the town; whereupon the Council ordered them to be whipt, and burnt on the cheek feverally, who were guilty of refett and converse; and that such of them who were guilty of ill principles, should be

whipt and all dismissed.

On the 16th, Sir William Denholm of Westshiels, Mr. Sir Will. James Stuart son to Sir James Stuart Provost of Edin- Denholm, burgh, and Mr. Gilbert Elliot, who, with several others, demned. were by the Parliament referred to the Justiciary, were tried, and found guilty of being concerned with the late Earl of Argyle, and condemned to be executed, when apprehended. My author tells us, that there is no more in the registers concerning the rest, whom the Parliament referred to the criminal court, such as the deceased Earl of Lowdon, Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, Colin Campbel of Ardkinglass, John Weir of Newton, John Hay of Park, Sir William Scot younger of Harden, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Hume of Bassenden, and Walter Lockbart of Kirktoun, who were all forfeited.

The same day, David (afterwards Sir David) Stuart D. Stuart of Cultness, and Mr. William Spence servant to the late and Mr. Earl of Argyle, were before the Justiciary, and found Spence guilty of being with the faid Earl, and condemned to condemned. be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 22d; but providence interposed in their behalf, so that the sen-

tence was not executed.

On the 24th, the Council ordered between 70 and Numbers 80 of the prisoners in Edinburgh, Canongate, &c. to be banished. banished to the plantations, for refusing the oath of Allegiance, and ordained Thomas Stodart, James Wilkie, and Matthew Brice prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and Archibald Campbel prisoner in Paul's Wark, who, as the sentence of the Council bears, did misbehave when before them, to be laid in irons, and profecuted before the Justiciary.

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The same day, they impowered the Earls of Marshall Errol, Kintore, Panmure, and the Lord Presidenc of the Commi/-Seffion, to examine the prisoners in Dunnotter-Castle fion for examining (p. 391) and banish all of them, whether men or wo. the Dun- men, not already banished, who should refuse the oaths notter pri- of allegiance and abjuration. A few were fet at liberty Soners. upon taking the oath of allegiance.

More banished.

On the 28th, the Council had above 30 more of the prisoners at Edinburgh before them. Twenty-nine were ordered to be banished, of whom there were four, who had been with Argyle, fix women and 19 men; the men, except those who had been with Argyle, were sentenced to have one of their ears cut off by the hand of the hangman, and the women to be burnt in the cheek, before they were fent aboard.

According to the order of time, I must now speak of at Kypes, the followers of Mr. Renwick. My author fays, that fome effays were now made to bring Mr. Renwick, and those who adhered to him, from their beights, in order to bring about an union between them and some of the presbyterian ministers, who were wandering up and down the country; and that, for this end, on the 29th of July, these two excellent persons, Mr. Robert Langlands and Mr. George Barclay, being informed of one of their meetings, defired to come to it: accordingly, they attended one of the general meetings at Kypes in the shire of Air, to see what might be done, to bring these people to hear and join with other fuffering ministers; that a good many of the meeting were for this, and fo the conference began. These two ministers were, on the one fide, and Mr. Renwick, George Hill and others on the other. The ministers proposed the laying aside all debates, about former differences and practices, and an union in those things, wherein they were agreed; and moved, that what they could not agree in, should be referred to a competent judicatory. This was refused by the other fide, who infitted, that an ennumeration of publick defections should be drawn up, which the ministers did not come into, as what would rather widen than heal their present breaches. Thus the conference ended, after they had been together some days. How ever

ever, it produced this effect, that many discovered their 1685. inclinations to join with other suffering ministers.

But it feems necessary, to give the reader the account another of this conference as published in the informatory vindica-account,

"expedition, at the desire of some ministers—we had a conference with them July 22, 1685, in which,

" instead of allaying differences, the proposals—made

" for union did heighten our breaches, both with them

"and among ourselves;——for though they offered an accommodation, yet, in conference—they main-

"tained, and did not disown that, which bred aliena-

"tion, to wit, a previous INFORMATION they had fent

" to strangers, accusing us of heavy things, that we had "not only cast off ALL magistrates, but had constitute

" among ourselves ALL KINDS of Magistrates, and were

" for cutting off ALL, as open enemies, who did not ac-

" knowledge our imaginary government; that our societies "were only an erroneous faction, and had no power of

" calling pastors, &c. Which information though they

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"did extenuate, alledging that the copy produced

" was forged, yet they contessed some such information

" was written, and went on to profecute, in effect, the

" fame crimination, and faid, they excerpted all out of

"our publick papers; and further challenged us, for falfely accusing them in our protestation against the

" Scotist congregation at Rotterdam, where they, with

"others, were promiseuously charged with sundry

"things in the gross, which they were not guilty of.
"We confessed, it was an overfight, conjunctly to ac-

"cumulate these charges without distinction; but

"taking them separately, we offered to make out every

"thing, there charged, upon the names inferted.

"Furthermore, in inveighing against Mr. Remvick's p. 15. "ordination (p. 223) they accused the church of Hol-

"land of Eraftianism, and of three sprinklings in bap-

"tism, &c. to which he replied, that he had received

" his ordination from the presbytery of Groningen; and "they being foreigners, and not chargeable either with

"our defections, or any declining from the testimony of

Vol. II. Hhh "ruptions

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p. 16.

" ruptions, from which they were never reformed, would come under another confideration, than the ministers of our own church, defending a course of defection. "The accommodation, they offered, was upon " terms, which we thought destructive to our testimony, to lay afide all debate, and let by gones pass, and go on in the publick work, which we did not "think was the way to heal our fore; but we offered, " if differences and exceptions could be removed, in a " right and honest way, we would be most willing to " join with them, which exceptions were given in in " these following particulars, viz. Their leaving the " country, and deferting the publick work, when it was fo " necessary to concur in the testimony, in a time of so great " a famine of the gospel; and not only concurring in the " testimony, but condemning it in Sanquhar and Lanerk " DECLARATIONS, even as to the matter of them, and " not condemning the paying of the locality imposed for " maintaining soldiers against the work and people of God, " their countenancing the compliers with the time; and, " when abroad, joining with the Scots congregation at " Rotterdam, and hearing the indulged preach there, " their informing against us, and aspersing us with slan-" ders, such as these in the forementioned information; " and their concurring in the Earl of Argyle's affociation, " against which we had so many things to object, as above " binted. Which exceptions--we thought sufficient " to demur upon, when, after many fruitless janglings, we could receive no fatisfaction about them, nor a " publick testimony satisfyingly stated, wherein we " might both agree and concur; albeit, we made an overture, in the end, that they and we should en-"deavour it, in this fort, that they severally by them-" felves should draw up all the fins of the time, and we " by ourselves; that so, when compared together, it might " be seen where we differed, and how far we could unite; " but the' they feemed to be as much for it, as we " at first, yet, in the end, when it was offered, they " rejected it. So the conference broke up, and there-" after we were more untenderly dealt with by them,

" and also deserted by several joined with us in fellow-

"fhip, who, from that time, began to leave off coming to our general-meetings, and to keep separate
ways, without respect to our former consented to
agreement; and also did hear, receive, and spread
false reports given forth against us, without premonishing us about the same, and drew many off from

" our focieties by fuch means."

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The reader cannot but remember, that, ever fifice the Remarks. unhappy indulgence, divisions increased among the presenterians, and, no doubt, both sides were guilty of excesses towards one another. But though some may think, that Mr. Renwick and his followers were too presenting, to have the others make a publick acknowledgment of their defections, yet they cannot be justified in slandering Mr. Renwick and his adherents, who were now divided among themselves, so that several withdrew from them; but I chuse to leave these things with the reader and to proceed to other matters.

On the 30th of July, the council ordered about 53 More bamore prisoners to be banished to the plantations, of nished. which 47 had been with Argyle, five refused the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and were to have one of their ears cut off, and one woman, Grizel Alstoun, to be burnt in the cheek. Some, who declared their willingness to

comply and take the oaths, were fet at liberty.

The same day, the Advocate was ordered to prose-T. Stod-cute before the Justiciary, Thomas Stodbart, James Wil-hart, &c. kinson and Mathew Brice, &c. for treason, rebellion, and not owning the King's authority. This day, the Council had a letter from the King, ordering them to banish such a number of the meaner prisoners, as they should think proper.

On the 31st, a new Committee for publick affairs More bawas appointed to sit during the intervals of Council, and nished. about 56, who had been with Arzyle, were ordered to be banished, together with twelve others, who were to have one of their ears cut off, and four women for the alledged murder of their bastard children, and one woman for refusing the oaths, to be burnt in the cheek. Several, who complied, were released, and three were remitted to the Lords of Justiciary.

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1685. Ears cut off.

The same day, orders were given to the magistrate of Edinburgh to command their common hangman to cut off the left ear of these following men, viz. Will Maccall, Joh. Finnison, Joh. Kennedy, Jam. Corsbie, Will Marshal, And. Fardin, Alex. Famison, Alex. Reid, John Hay, Will. Macilroy, Quintin Dun, Will. Drennan, John Macilvie, John Cunningham, Thomas Richard, Archibala Campbel, Alexander Mason, Matthew Hamilton, Walter Hownam, James Murray, Malcolm Brice, James Wilkifon John Simpson, James Gavin, John Mundel, Andrew Maclean, John Elliot, Robert Edward, John Mitchel, Roger Macmichan, John Weir, Robert Muir, John Downie, - Lawson, Elizabeth Kirkwal, which was executed on Wednesday 4th of August following.

Sufferings of the Milroys.

Among others, who were banished by the forementioned fentences, were Gilbert and William Milroys, in the parish of Penningham, whose sufferings being somewhat peculiar, may be proper to be briefly related all together in this place, as my author had been attested by the revd. Mr. Robert Rowan minister there. When the test was violently pressed last year, William took it, and Gilbert compounded with the sheriff-depute, to get his name out of the roll; but this year not being able to take the abjuration, they absconded with their younger brother Patrick. In the month of June or July, the Earl of Hume sent his Merse-militia to their houses, who plundered them, and drove away their cattle. Two days after, feventy horsemen came, in the night time, and carried off what the foot had left, and tortured Gilbert's wife with lighted matches between her fingers. Next morning, Gilbert Milroy and his brother William were taken, with a fervant of about 16 years of age, and carried prisoners to Monnigaff, where they were brought before the Earl of Hume, and examined as to their keeping the church, converse with the whigs, &c. and declining to answer, were put to the torture of lighted matches between their fingers; but omiting what they lost as to their substance, and several other circumstances of cruelty, they were, at last, imprisoned at Holy roodhouse, all the other jails being crouded. Mr. James Colquboun the episcopal minister at Penningham, had no fmall

mall share in promoting their sufferings. At last, upon 1685. their refusing the oaths, they were sentenced to have their ears cut off, and banished for ten years. When this fentence was passed, they were confined to the Iron-house. The ears of all the prisoners from Monnig aff were cut off, except Gilbert Milroy, who was 6 fatigued and weak, that he appeared to be in a dying condition. A little after this, Gilbert and the other prisoners in the Iron-bouse, were taken out, and they, who could not walk, were carried in carts to Newbaven, and put aboard a ship lying there, thrust under deck, two and two fettered together, to the number of 190. Through hunger, thirst, and other hardships, during their long passage of three months and three days, 32 of them died. Mr. Evans the master of the ship was very cruel to them. When they landed at Port-royal in Jamaica, they were put in an open prison, and recived no small friendship from several in the island. After ten days, they were fold for flaves, and the money given to Sir Philip Howard, who had a gift of them from the King, but he never had the fatisfaction of enjoying the price of their liberty; for he was drowned in the Thames, as he was taking leave of his friends to go for Jamaica. Many of these captives died in their bondage; but Gilbert Milroy survived his sufferings, returned to his wife and other relations, and was alive in 1710. He kept an exact account of the providences he met with. The reader may see his remarks in my author.

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One William Marshal a smith in Glasgow was appre-W. Marhended for wanting a pass (p. 338) and was likewise ba-shal banished for no other crime but nonconformity.

On the first of August, Mr. Arch. Campbel son to Lord Mr. ArNeil Campbel, was condemned to die by the Justices; but chibald
appearing before the Council, and declaring his willingCampbel
condemnness to renounce all rebellious principles, he was reprieved
dill December.

On the 6th, Thomas Stodbart, James Wilkison, and T. Stod-Matthew Brice, were condemned by the Justiciary, to hart, &c. be hanged at the Grass-market on the 12th. They all executed. here suffered according to their sentence. Thomas Stod-

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1685. bart had been fentenced to be banished, and yet he w brought before the Justices, and condemned to die, f no other reason, but because he owned authority on as far as agreeable to the word of God, and would n expresly disown the apologetical-declaration. The on questions proposed to the other two, and their answer were these. 2. 1. Will ye take the oath of allegiance A. We will not take it. Q. 2. Will ye own the auth rity? A. We will own all authority, according to the word of God; whence Matthew Brice inferred, th they had nothing else to charge him with, but that spoke of the word of God. The same day these thr were executed, William Cunningham, John Muirhea and William Jackson, declaring themselves willing to banished, the criminal process was dropt.

Prisoners

On the 7th of August, the Laird of Pitlochie petitione disposed of the Council, for some of those under sentence of tran portation to go with him, which was granted; and the fame day, a confiderable number was ordered to bed livered to Robert Barclay of Urie, or his order.

Testimony of some of the banished.

In an original letter dated August 10, John Jamiso John Kennedy, Robert Sharp, William McCall, Walt Hume, James Murray, Will. Marshal, and James Corbi by whom it was subscribed, and who were among the banished, left their testimony against owning a pop King, &c. and gave a great many excellent advices their fuffering friends.

Others banished.

On the 11th, four more were ordered for transport tion by the Council for refusing the oaths, and the ca of other ten prisoners was deferred to farther consider

Mr. Tho. executed.

On the 12th of August, Mr. Thomas Archer (p. 16) Archerex- 190) was, at last, brought before the Justiciary. good deal of interest was made for him, but in van nay, a defign was fecretly formed for conveying him of of prison; but he would not comply with it, because reckoned himself a dying person; and as he could n ferve his Master any other way, he did not think it h duty to decline a testimony for him, and his truth, by publick death. He was brought in guilty, and co d mned to be hanged on a high gibbet on the 14th; b he was respited to the 21st, when he suffered.

In his last words and testimony, which are in my au- 1685. for, among other things he faid, "It was always my judgment, and I hope to die in it, that the obliga- His ! ft tion of the covenants is national and indiffoluble, testimony, and that even the posterity, renouncing them, shall be found guilty of horrid perjury and apostacy before God, fince, in them, we first engaged immediately to ferve him. I have ever opposed contentions and new differences — I take not upon me to justify the indulged ministers; neither will I rigidly condemn them; but if the separating from their ministry, and preffing the matter with fuch heat and violence be good fervice done to Christ, I have read the Scripture wrong. I have lived, and defire to die, hoping, that the Lord will yet glorify his Grace and Gospel in the land, and that he hath not brought us under the bond of the COVENANT, immediately to cast us off (though we delerve it) but that the children which are yet to be created may praise him." He wned the King's authority, acknowledged his weakof in being a witness against several persons, and conluded with his farewel to all created enjoyments.

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When on the scaffold, after he had prayed and read his behala. lxv. he fpoke feveral things, and, among others, faid, viour on My motives were the great apprehensions I had of fold, 'popery, and my regard to the kingdom and interest of Christ here; and I wish every one were concerned with the evil and danger of popery." Here one of the magistrates interrupted him; whereupon he added, "I 'shall only refer you to Revel. xiv. 9, 10, 11," and aid to the magistrate, "You cannot deny, but popery is hazardous," who answered, "It is true, but there is no fear of it here, bleffed be God." Mr. Archer reold, "I wish to God it be so," and then continued his shourse, "What I have further to say is, that as 'Christ hath a kingdom, wherein and over which he reigneth as King, so he will suffer none to usurp that power, which is his own prerogative. --- " After he as again interrupted, he went on thus, "Well then, I hope none of you, who are the people of God, need flumble at our fall, as if God would let the work rest

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"at us;——for the people of God have got many back." fets one after another; but the Lord has waited for their extremity, which he will make his opportu. Inity.—— Mich. iv. 10. I will bring them to Babylon, and there will I deliver them. So I pray and interest you all, to be concerned for your fouls interest; as for my own part, I know I have no more to do as to that. Fear of death does not fright or trouble me. I bless the Lord for my lot." Then he prayed again, sang Psal. lxxiii. 24, to the end, and died with great chearfulness and joy. He was about 32 years of age at his death, and, says my author, was qualified for a professor of divinity in any university.

More banished.

On the 17th of August, the Council ordered about 72 prisoners in Leith, to be banished to the plantations, for refusing the oaths; among whom were several women. Many of them feem to be the Dunnotter prisoners (p. 391) for as Argyle's invasion was now over. these prisoners were brought from thence to Leith. Quin. tin Dick and another were left behind as dying men. The Council was pleased to come to Leith and sit in the Tolbooth and re-examine them. The few that complied with their impositions were dismissed; some who were weakly, and had friends to make interest for them, got off, upon bond to appear when called; but the generality refusing the oaths, as the revd. Mr. Frazer and others, were banished. The most of those, who were ordered for transportation, were made a present of to the Laird of Pitlochie, who freighted a Newcastle ship, Richard Hutton master, bound for New Jersey, to whose care the banished prisoners were committed.

Mr. W. Hanna,

Mr. William Hanna (p. 314, 315) one of these prifoners, got off by giving in the penalty of 5000 merks. When he was threatened with banishment, he told them, that he was now too old to work, or to go to war. Old General Dalziel bitterly replied, that he was not too old to hanged; but that same day, August the 22d, that General died suddenly. Mr. William fell ill, and being thought in a dying condition, was released and got home, after above three years sufferings.

Mean while, on the faid 17th of August, Sir John 1685. Cochran, his son, and John, called Colonel Ayloffe, were put a board a yacht for London.

Next day, a royal letter was read, ordering to forfeit &c. and banish Charles and John Campbel sons to the late Kings let-Earl of Argyle: accordingly they were ordered to be ter.

brought to Edinburgh to be tried by the Justiciary.

The same day, Thomas Russel and John Henderson were T. Russel examined, on account of the death of Sharp, in which and John they were suspected to be concerned. They denied the fon exfact; but refused to call it murder, and were appointed amined. to be kept close prisoners. On the 20th, Russel was banished, and Henderson ordered to be tried before the Justiciary; but it was well for them both, that they found an opportunity to break prison, and make their escape.

On the 21st, Charles Campbel was condemned to die, Argyle's for being with his father in the rebellion; but the day fons conof his execution was left to the Council's pleasure; and demned. on the 25th, his brother John received the same sentence. And thus, though the managers could not, for shame, embrue their hands in the blood of these youths, yet they did what lay in their power, to leave a stain on the children and relations of this noble family of Argyle. But

to return to the banished prisoners.

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VOL. II.

As they generally wrote to their friends, so on the 28th Testimony of August, 28 of them, before they failed, figned a conjunct of the batestimony, bearing, "That now being to leave their nished. "own native and covenanted land, by an unjust sen-" tence of banishment, for owning truth, and standing " by duty, and studying to keep their covenant-engage-" ments and baptismal vows, whereby they stand obliged " to resist, and testify against, all that is contrary to " the word of God and their covenants; and that their " fentence of banishment ran chiefly, because they re-"fused the oath of allegiance, which, in conscience, "they could not take, because, in so doing, they "thought, they utterly declined the Lord Jefus Christ, " from having any power in his own house, and practi-" cally would, by taking it, fay, he was not King and

"head of his church, and over their consciences; and,

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on the contrary, this was to take and put in his room. a man whose breath is in his nostrils; yea, a man thati a sworn enemy to religion, an avowed Papist. " whom, by our covenants, we are bound to withstand and difown, and that agreeably to scripture, Deut "xvii. 14, 15." Then they bore their testimony against the defections of that day, and for preaching in the fields and houses, and fign as follow: John Kincaid, George Muir, George Johnston, Robert Young, Thomas Jackson, Andrew Paterson, John Harvey, John Foord Christopher Strang, William Spreul, Peter Russel, Rober M'Ewen, John Henderson, John Seton, John Gilfillan Charles Honyall, James Grierson, James Forsyth, Walt M'Igne, John M'Ghie, Ad. Howie, James Muirhead Annabel Gordon, Marg. Lefly, Agnes Steven, Marg. For rest, Jean Moffat, Annabal Jackson. In the same ship were Mr. John Frazer, Robert M'Clellan of Barmagechan Will. Niven in Pollock-shares, &c. &c.

Their hardships on board, &c.

They failed from the road of Leith on the 5th o September. After they turned the Lands-end, a feve began to rage in the ship, especially among those, who had been in the great vault at Dunnotter, and, in month's time, became malignant, fo that few in the thip escaped; most of the crew, except the Captain and Boatswain died, together with the following prisoners Thomas Graham, Gilbert Monorgan, John Smith, Will Cunningham, John Muirhead, Thomas Jackson, Katha Kellie, Andrew Maclellan, Tho. Ruffel, John Hodge, Tho Gray, John Ramn, John Swinton, John Kippen, Will Spret, James Wardrope, John M'Kenman, Tho. Finlater John Hutchison of Wardlaw, Will. M' Millan, Agnes Co balb, John Kirkland; but notwithstanding this mortality the Captain and others greatly abused the persecuted pri foners; for when they, who were under deck, attempted to worship God by themselves, the Captain would throw down great planks of wood in order to di turb them. Their provisions were exceeding bad. A last, they arrived at New-Jersey; but Pitlochie and h Lady died on the paffage. The prisoners met with hard treatment from the people, when they first came ashore but, a little way up the country, there was a tow when nd

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where a Minister was settled. When the inhabitants 1685. were informed of the circumstances of the banished, they invited all, who were able to travel, to come and live among them, fent horses for those who were not, and entertained them that winter freely, and with great kindness. Next spring, Mr Johnstoun claimed the prisoners as his property, upon the death of *Pitlochie* his father-in-law, and got them all fummoned before the court of the province. After hearing both fides, the Governor called a Jury, who acquitted the prisoners; whereupon most of them retired to New-England, where they were very kindly entertained, and employed according to their different stations and capacities. Many of them died in the plantations, and the rest returned to their native country at the happy revolution, as Mr. Riddell, William Niven, and Robert Maclellan of Barmaguban in the parish of Berg and stewartry of Kirkud-

This last mentioned Gentleman underwent a series of Sufferings sufferings, during this infamous period. In February of Barma-1666, a party from Sir James Turner came and lived gechan. upon him at discretion, till he should pay those exorbitant fums imposed upon him for his nonconformity. When Mr. Maclellan prayed Sir James, that the foldiers might be removed, he was confined in his court of guard, till he should pay his fines, and the cess for maintaining the army. At last, his fine was fixed to fix hundred merks, and a party of horse was sent to quarter upon him, to each of whom he was obliged to give two shillings sterling a day, till he paid his fine. This heavy oppression constrained him to join those, who rose at Pentland. When that party was dispersed, he fled to England, where he lived privately four years. He returned again to Scotland, and joined the party at Bothwel. Upon which he was again forfeited, his family dispersed, and forced to retire to England, where, about the end of 1684, he and feveral other Scotsmen were apprehended by Squire Dacres, and fent prisoners to Dumfries. He lay in irons, for several days, in the caltle there, and was, with several others, sent to Dun-Milter, where he partook of the fufferings of that dismal Iii 2

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place, and had his lot with the rest of the banished. It pleased God to preserve him and his three children, King during the voyage, while his wife and other three were but left in Scotland, to the care of providence. He was fo weakened by fickness, that he was obliged to be carried ashore. However, he foon recovered, and set up a plantation at Woodbridge in New-Jersey, which he purchased, and where he had the advantage of hearing the gospel preached by the Revd. Mr. Archibald Riddell. This Gentleman continued here from December this year, till June 1689, when he resolved to return to Britain upon his hearing the good news of the revolution.

Accordingly, Barmagechan, Mr. Riddell and others. failed for England, and on the 2d of August reached the English coast; but they were taken by a French man of war, and carried prisoners to Nantz, from thence to a common jail at Rochford, where were near 200 Emlish and Dutch prisoners, the most of whom were sent to Thoulan. They were chained two and two by the arm, and at first, each ten pair were tied with a rope; but that retarding the journey, after the 2d day, the ropes were no more used. Mr. Riddell was chained to his fon, a boy of ten years of age, for whom they were at pains to make three different chains, before they could get one small enough for his wrists. Many died in this journey. When Mr. Maclellan, through age and weakness, was unable to travel, he applied to the Captain, for the benefit of one of their carts, but was answered by many lashes of his whip on the face, by which he lost the fight of one of his eyes. After a fix weeks march, they, at last, got to Thoulon, where they were put into a large old ship, where he continued 19 months, though all the rest, after a months time, returned, the same way they came, to Rockford, and from thence to Denain near St. Malo, where Mr. Riddell continued, more than a year, in a vault of an old castle, with some hundreds of other prisoners. They lay on firaw, and never changed but once a month, and so were overrun with nastiness the and vermin. After twenty two months, Mr. Riddell and State his fon were exchanged for two popish priests, which the Council of Scotland gave for them. When the prisoners and

at Thoulon were released by another exchange, the French 168 g. King would not suffer them to return through France; but gave them a pass, and put them on board a ship bound for Genoa, where Barmagechan got a Hamburgh vessel bound for Cadiz in Spain, from whence he came in a fleet bound for Amsterdam; but by a storm, they were drove on the back of Ireland, and the ship he was in was forced into Bantry-bay there. The Irish seized the company, striped Mr. Maclellan of his cloaths, and kept him among them eleven days; so that through the hardships he met with, he fell ill; but at last, he was released, and got safe home to his own house at Barmageban, 31 October, 1691. From the whole it appears, that all the fufferings of this gentleman were owing to the perfecution in Scotland. But to return.

On the 11th of September, the Council ordered the Advocate to profecute more that were concerned in the attempt of the Earl of Argyle; but as I know not the

issue of it, I pass it over.

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On the 16th, they issued a proclamation for keeping Proclamathe King's birth-day, October 14th, as a folemn anniver-tion for fary thanksgiving, "and therein to commemorate his keeping the King's " most conspicuous entry to his royal government and birth day, " miraculous deliverances;" and that the reader may

fee what folid grounds there was for this,

On the 19th, a letter from the King was read in coun-who ind, requiring them to call for the magistrates of Edin-privileges burgh, and prohibit them from proceeding to any electof the royal tion of magistrates, or town-council, for the ensuing year, burghs, ill his Majesty declare his pleasure to the contrary. If his was not a direct infringement of the privileges of the royal burghs, let the reader judge. Accordingly, the magistrates were called, and had the King's pleasure fignified to them. These infringements were as a preface to what followed in England as to corporations,

much of the same nature.

From some letters, that passed, at this time, between Divisions the King and Council, it appears, that the Ministers of among the sand State in Scotland were not harmonious among them—ministers of state. Informations were taken from Mr. John Veitch, ers and accounts were faid to be given by Sir John Cochran,

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Sir John Cochran pardoned. Burnet, p. 634.

1685. with relation to a correspondence carried on between the Register, Secretary Murray, and Lord Melvil, and som pieces of mismanagement of the Advocate. Bishop Burn net tells us, that " Cochran had a rich father the Ear of Dundonald; and he offered the Priests 5000 l. to save They wanted a flock of money for managing their designs; so they interposed so effectually, that the bargain was made. But to cover it, Cochran petitioned the Council, that he might be fent to the King; for he had fecrets of great importance, which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the King himself. He was upon that brought up to London, and, after he had been, for some time, in private with the King, the matters, he had discovered, were faid to be of such importance, that, in confideration of that, the King par doned him. It was faid, that he discovered all their negotiations with the Elector of Brandenburgh and the Prince of Orange; but this was a pretence only given out, to conceal the bargain; for the prince told the Doctor, he had never feen Cochran; but the fecret came to be known foon after." Passing therefore these things,

Gentlemen exorbitantly fined.

Executions being now very much over, the old trad of fines for Conventicles was revived; for one gentleman was fined this September in no less sum than 60000l Scots, or 5000 l. fterling, for his own his Lady's noncon formity.

Mr. John Veitch closely confined.

On the 5th of October, the above mentioned Mr John Veitch (p. 111) minister at Westruther, was mad close prisoner at Edinburgh, and his keeper solemal fworn, never to fuffer any word to come in to him, o to go out from him, without the knowledge of the Council, or their Committee. Two foldiers were or dered constantly to guard the door, pen and ink wer taken from him, and thus he continued for twent weeks.

Liberty of the pres invaded.

The same day they made an act, prohibiting the printing of any books of divinity, till they were review and licenfed by the Ordinary of the place, and discharg ing all stationers and bookfellers from felling any fuc books, under the penalty of confiscation. Th

The same day, another letter from the King was read, 1685. wherein his Majesty recommended Baily Kennedy as his particular choice, to be elected Provost of Edinburgh, Provost leaving the Magistrates to the usual method of electing the King. the rest of the town-council; but one might readily think, that the King might have named all, as well as the chief magistrate, and taken upon himself to nominate magistrates in all the royal burghs, through the kingdom.

The Council having, on the 29th, received informa- Major tion of two Field-conventicles in the parish of Camnethan, Wedderwhere several were present in arms, and Mr. Renwick burn. preached, Major Wedderburn of Gosford was ordered to enquire concerning those who were present, and the henitors, through whose lands they passed.

On the 12th of November, a very extraordinary letter was read from the King dispensing with an act of his very first Parliament. As it is but short, it is as follows:

FAMESR.

" I IGHT trusty, &c. we greet you well. Whereas, List of " In the 12th act of our current Parliament, intitled, those dif-" Act of Supply, there is a clause ordaining all the com-" missioners therein named, to take the oaths and test " appointed by law; which clause we judge fit, for our " fervice, to require you to put vigorously in execu-"tion, excepting these in the list here inclosed, whom "we have dispensed with from taking the same, and " such as we shall hereafter dispense with, under our "royal hand. For doing whereof, this shall be your " warrant: And fo we bid you heartily farewel. Given " at our court at Whitehall, the feventh day of Novem-"ber 1685, and of our reign the first year."

By his Majesty's command.

MELFORD.

The lift of those dispensed with from taking the test, contains the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Seaforth and Traquair, Lord Oliphant, Richard Cockburn of Clerkingtoun, Alexander Irvine of Drum, John Gordon of Rothe-

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1685. may, Patrick Lefty of Balqubain, Sir George Gordon Gight, William Menzies of Pitfoddels, James Innes Drumgask, Ad. Gordon of Auchmacoy, Francis Gordon younger of Craig, Mr. Alex. Irvine of Lairny, M. Richard Irvine of Kirktoun, Laird of Fetterneir, Lain of Wartle-lefly, Alex. Frazer of Kinnaries, Macdonald Binbecula, Macdonald of Largy, Macdonald of Cassiloun Pat. Gordon of Glastyrum, John Grant of Ballindellack James Gordon of Camdel, John Gordon of Baldorny, Alex Gordon of Auchintoul.

> It is easy to observe here, that acts of Parliament and no security under a popish Prince, when he takes upo him to dispense with them in this manner; for the Kin not only dispensed with the act as to the persons about mentioned, but referved a power to himself to dispen with it as to others, whom he should afterward

John Nistet of Hardbill in the parish of Lowdon, wa

name.

Sufferings of John Nisbet of Hardhill.

apprehended about this time. This Gentleman had bee always active for religion, and an encourager of the Go pel, as, at that time, preached in the fields. In 1664 having a child baptized by an ejected presbyterian m nister, the Curate declared, from the pulpit, that he is tended to excommunicate him next Lord's day; but was prevented by fudden death. He was both at Pen land and Bothwel; in the former he was fo grievoul wounded, that the enemy left him for dead, so that h Mem. of escaped. At the latter he behaved with great braver and courage, and escaped at that time likewise; by being known, was profcribed by proclamation, an a large reward offered for apprehending him; his elfa and goods feized, his wife and four children stript

Ch. of Scotland, p. 285, 286.

Manner of bis being taken,

all, and turned out of doors. He fuffered all kinds of diffress from 1679, till M vember this year, when he, with three of his fellow fufferers, were surprized in a house, in the parish Finwick, by Lieutenant Nisbet a cousin of his own They defended themselves, till the other three we killed on the spot, and Hardbill fore wounded and take The Lieutenant having ordered him to be bound, alk him, what he thought of himself now? he answered, " ee thin Chap. 14. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

433 1685.

"think as much of Christ and his cause, for which I suf"fer, as ever; but I judge myself at a loss, being in
"time, and my dear brethren, whom you have mur"dered, being in eternity." The Lieutenant swote, he
had reserved him for a further judgment. John replied,
"If the Lord stand by me, and help me to be faithful
"to the death, I care not what piece of suffering I be
"put to endure."

He was carried that night to Kilmarnock, and next sent in to morning to Air, where, by intercession of friends, a surgeon was permitted to dress his wounds, and here he was examined, and from thence sent to Edinburgh.

The Cloud of Witnesses says, that he was brought back to Kilmarnock, and from thence transported to Edinburgh; but that circumstance is not material. It seems, Mem. of says an eye-witness, all this was done, that the Lieute-Scot. p. 286, 287, him. My author has given his examination before the Council, which, it seems, was on the 26th of November, from a letter under his own hand, wherein he says, "When he was brought before the Council, he knew his examination before the Counsellors told him, that they believed he was Council, "Counsellors told him, that they believed he was Council, "acquainted with every thing among the rebels, and

"truth; for he could fay, he was more afraid to LIE "than to die; but he hoped, they would be fo much "Christians, as to press him to answer nothing, that "would burthen his conscience.

"would take it as a favour, if he would ingenuously tell what he knew. ——— He told them, when they came to particulars, he should speak nothing but the

"They asked him, what they did in their societies and meetings? He answered, they sung part of the "Psalms, read some of the Scripture, and prayed time about. 2. Why are they called societies? A. I am surprized at such a question, since the thing is plain, and is the name such meetings had, in the best times of this church. 2. Where are they kept? A. In the wildest muirs and most retired places. 2. What do "ye at your general meetings? (While stopping a little, to consider what to say to this, one of them answered, Vol. II.

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1685.

" and gave a more particular and diffinct account, of " every part of their way, than he could do.) Q. Will " you own the King's authority? A. I will not, " Q. Why? Do you not own the Scriptures and Con. " fession of Faith? (naming several places, and Chap. " xxiii. of the Confession.) A. I own both with all my " heart; but the King is a Roman Catholick, and I have " not only been educated a Presbyterian, but solemnly " fworn against popery. Q. What is that to you? His " being popish does not bind you to be so too, nor hin-" der you to live in your own religion. A. The con-" trary appears; for no liberty is given to hear the " gospel, and we are put to the hardest sufferings for " hearing it. Q. It is not so; you may have the gos-" pel to hear, when you please; but your wild principles " will not fuffer you to hear it. A. The contrary is " well known; you have taken away presbyterian mi-" nisters, and left none in the nation within our reach, " and put fuch in their places, as are profligate wretches; " fo that poor people neither care, nor dare join with "them. Q. Were you and fuch as you clear to join " with Argyle? A. No more than with you. Q. Would " you have joined with Monmouth? A. No. Another " faid in banter; It feems, they will have no King. " but Mr. Renwick; and asked him, if he conversed " with any other ministers than Mr. Renwick; he an-" fwered, he did not. As to praying for their "King, one of them faid, he knew, I was that much " a christian, that I would pray for all men. I told "them, that I reckoned myself bound to pray for all; " but prayer being institute by an holy God, who was " the hearer of prayer, no christian was obliged to " pray, when every profligate commanded him; and "that it was no advantage to their cause, when they " fuffered fuch a thing." He proceeded thus: " How it may be with me afterwards, I cannot poli-" tively fay, -but this I can fay, the Lord hath not quar-" relled with me for any thing, fince I was a prisoner;

" but hath always waited to supply with all comfort, consolation and strength, as my necessity required.

"And now, when I cannot lay down my head, nor lift

"it up without help, and the irons are upon my legs, 1685.

"yet, of all the cases I ever was in, I had never more contentment. I can now give the cross of Christ a more noble commendation than ever.—— Under all my wanderings, in all my toilings, a prison was full terrifying to me; but immediately at my taking, he shined so on me, and ever since, that he and his cross is to me far beyond whatever he was before.

"Therefore let none scar, or stand at a distance from their duty, for fear of the cross; for now I can say from experience, that it is as easy, yea, and more sweet, to lie in prison and irons, than 'tis to lie at liberty."

But I must break off at present."

The Council, this 26th of *November*, ordered him to be prosecuted before the *Justiciary*. Two prisoners were ordered to be released, and five to be banished for

conventicles and refusing the oaths.

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On the 30th, John Nisbet of Hardbill was arraigned arrained before the Justiciary. His own confession was the proof and conagainst him; in which, among other things, they said, demned. that he declared, that the reason, why he and those, who were in his company, refused to join with Argyle, was because one Clelland told them, that the said Argyle and his party were against all kingly government. My author is of opinion, that he declared no fuch thing, it being very common for the clerks, in writing down the the answers of the sufferers, to misrepresent them. And it is certain, that the only reason given by the societies for not joining with Argyle, was, because they could not espouse his declarations as the state of their quarrel, they not being concerted according to the ancient plea of the Scottist Covenants, and because it opened a door for a finful confederacy. We have had instances of unfair dealing this way before now. Hardbill was brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the Graffmarket of Edinburgh on the 4th of December next.

The same 30th of November, John Welsh of Cornley (p. 96) and Edward Marshal of Kaemuir (p. 173) who had been formerly sorfeited, and having been apprehended, were ordered to be executed on the 4th of

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December.

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Maxwel.

1685. December. The former got off by taking the test; but the latter suffered with John Nisbet of Hardbill.

Mean while, Charles Maxwel (p. 304) was, this month, summoned before some Court at Glencairn. church, for collecting charity to the prisoners at Dunnotter. He appeared, and, there being no proof against him, was difinified; but that fame night, a party was ordered to his house to take ten pounds, or goods to that value, for his wife's absence from the court, though he knew nothing of her having been summoned, and to carry him prisoner to Dumfries. It was with difficulty, he prevailed with them to take his bond, and his mafter furety, to appear at Dumfries when called, on the penalty of 1000l. Scots.

Hardhill and Ed. Marshal executed.

Laft teftimony of Ed. Marthal,

On the 4th of December, John Nisbet of Hardbill, and Edward Marshal suffered at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, according to their fentence. Their last testimonies are in the Cloud of Witnesses, edit. 4th.

Edward Marshal left his testimony against all, who had gone contrary to the covenanted work of reformation; owned that he was at Bothwel; but would not acknowledge it to be rebellion. They asked him, if he would own JAMES VII. as King of Britain; he told them, that he owned him, as far as he owned God, his cause and people. On which some of them said, that was not at all. Then they asked, if he would pray for the King of Britain. He replied, that this was not a place for prayer. Upon which they laughed, and ordered him to remove. After this account, he exhorts his friends, not to be discouraged with these threatnings of men for the cause of Christ; and concludes with recommending his wife and children to God, and taking a comfortable farewel of all worldly enjoyments.

of John Nubet.

John Nisbet, in his last testimony, which is in the Cloud of Witnesses, among other things fays, " I have " always, fince the publick resolutioners were for bring-"ing in the malignants and their interest, thought it my "duty to join with the Lord's people, in witnessing " against those sinful courses; and now we see clearly, " that it has ended in nothing lefs, than - open doors, that are made wide, to bring in popery, and fet up . « idolatry

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" idolatry in the Lord's COVENANTED land. Where- 1685. " fore, it is the \_\_\_\_indispensible duty of all, who have " any love to God, to his Son the Lord Jefus Christ, -to withefs faithfully, constantly, and conscien-"tiously against all, that the enemies have done, or " are doing, to the overthrow of the glorious work of reformation. And however it be, that many, "both ministers and professors, are turning their backs "upon Christ and his cross, reproaching—you and "the testimony of the day; yet let not this weaken " your hands; for I affure you, it will not be long " to the fourth watch; and then he will come in gar-" ments died in blood, to raise up saviours upon Mount "Zion to judge the mount of Efau, and then the " house of Jacob and Joseph shall be for fire, and the " malignants, prelates, and papifts shall be for stubble, " the flame whereof shall be great. But my generation "work being done with my time, I go to him who "loved me and washed me from all my fins." Then he goes on, declaring, that he died adhering to the Scriptures, and all the pieces of reformation attained to in Scotland, from 1638 to 1649, and protesting against popery, prelacy, the indulgence, and the acceptors of it, and exhorting the people of God, to forbear contentions and censuring one another, to keep up their fellowships and general-meetings; and concludes bidding farewel to all his dear fellow-fufferers, to his children and christian friends, and with committing his spirit into

the hands of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoft. And now I have the pleasure to acquaint the reader, that there is but one execution more of this kind at Edinburgh, during this infamous period; fo that from this, to the beginning of 1688, we shall find things taking another turn. Measures were concerting for repealing the penal statutes; and it was proper, that the persecution of the preflyterians should abate for a while, that the papifts might get footing, and fo compleat the ruin of the reformation. But I shall relate things as much in

the order of time as possible.

On the 9th of December, the Council banished 17 Mr. John more prisoners, and next day Mr. John Mitchel of Bal-Mitchel. bardie

VOL. II. 1685. bardie was ordered to be discharged from paying any more fines for his wife's irregularities, because of the

King's letter in favour of regular husbands.

Process against Monmouth,

On the 21st, a process was commenced by the Ad. vocate against the deceased Duke of Buccleugh and Mon. mouth, Fletcher of Saltoun, and the Lord Stair. A very long indictment was given in against them and read; but the trial was put off till January next. I shall now conclude this bloody year with some things of which I know not the dates.

Thomas Richards banished.

Thomas Richards in the parish of Ballentree was at last furprized by a party of Buchlan's foldiers while afleen, who carried him with them to Stranrawer, and brought him back to Ballantree. His friends not being able to prevail with him to comply, the commander ordered four of his men to shoot him in the fields; but things were so concerted, that his friends again furrounded him, and prayed him to comply; but he told them, he was not unwilling to die even a violent death, rather than make any finful compliances. Upon this his heroick and christian resolution, the Captain thought proper to proceed no further. Thomas was taken to Glafgow, where, after a month's imprisonment, his ears were cropt, and he was fent with others to Jamaica, where he was fold for feven years. He died just as his time of fervitude was expired.

Cruel treatment of Sarah Stuart.

By order of the Sheriff of Wigtoun, a party came to Barn-kirk in the parish of Penningham, and apprehended Sarah Stuart the wife of William Kennedy, after having damaged the house and spoiled the furniture, and forced her to go with them a-foot, with a child in her arms not quite nine months old, to Wigtoun, and leave the other three children behind her, without any to look after them, though the oldest was not eight years of age. She was kept eleven weeks prisoner at Wigtoun; for though she was a conformist herself, yet, because she would not engage, never to converse with her husband, nor to discover him, or inform against him, she was brought to all this trouble; for the religion and government of this period was calculated to root out the principles of nature. This was very much parallel with the practice

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an pr chap. 14. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

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practice of the most wicked of the papists, who obliged 1685. ome children to kindle the faggots, wherewith their parents were burnt.

A party of Buchan's men seized John Wallace of Sufferings Knockybae in the parish of New Glenluce, spoiled his of John house, and took away every thing they could, because Wallace. he resused the abjuration; nay, they brought in numbers of sheep to the church, where they killed and roasted them with a fire made of their pews. My author has this odd circumstance well attested under the hand of the minister of that parish.

Many this year died in prisons, and in the way to Many died them, and in their banishments; and these may all be in prison. reckoned to have suffered unto death, as James Glover of the parish of Tinwal, Andrew Fergusson in the parish of Glencairn, John Munil, James Muncie Burgess in Dum-

fries, John Muirhead Bailie in Dumfries, James Carran Burgess in Dumfries, Andrew Hunter and John Stock Burgesses in the same town, Elizabeth Glendowning the wife of John Panter of the parish of Durisdeer. John Renwick Burgess in Dumfries, Andrew Maclessan a freeman in the same town, and James Sittingtoun in the panish of Dunscore, were banished and died Abroad. As all these were only from the shire of Nithsdale, what multitudes might be mentioned from other places is not hard to imagine.

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nhe. ce Many honest people were scourged for their noncon-Many somity, and then sent to the plantations. Thus two scourged, women were scourged at Dumsries by the hangman, because they would swear no oaths, and the youngest was sent to Fersey with Pitlochie. About the same time, a poor woman, with a man, whom they had prevailed with to take the test, were bound together and scourged through the said town, because he would not swear, what wandering persons he had entertained. Fean Dalwiel a tenant of Queensberry's, was banished, because she would not swear never to converse with her husband, who was declared a sugitive; as was Agnes Harestanes another of Queensberry's tenants, because she would not

promise to hear the Curates, and discover the sugitives.

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1685: Oaths did not Satis-

It is further remarked at this time, that, when people were prevailed with to take the oaths, the managers likewise obliged them to promise, to stand at the sing. ing of the Dowology, give all encouragement to the esta. blished clergy, apprehend all fugitives and wanderers, and when they could not apprehend them, that they would raise the bue and cry after them for three miles.

Scots ministers in Holland brought to trouble.

The rage against Presbyterians was not confined, at this time, to Scotland, but reached even to those minif. ters, who had retired to Holland for shelter, as Mr. James Veitch, Mr. Alexander Pitcairn, Mr. George Campbel, Mr. Patrick Warner, and others. These minifters and other persecuted Scotsmen had a weekly meeting for prayer. One, who called himself Robert Smith, attempted to be admitted among them. Mr. Warner, not relishing his forwardness, and suspecting him for a spy, put a stop to it. This fellow, who pretended to have been at Bothwel-bridge, partly out of fpite, and partly to get his hire, went to London, and, on the 24th of February this year, gave in an information at Wbiteball, which is published by Sprat in his Copies of Informations, p. 173, &c. This paper contains a heap of lies and falshoods. He pretends to have seen Mr. Warner at the council of war at Bothwel-bridge, whereas, from Drumclog to that defeat, he was never within 40 miles of Bothwel. He also mentions Gordon of Earlstoun elder, as being at that council of war, whereas the action was over, and he was killed, as he was riding to join them, p. 44. I have not room to consider the said information in all its parts, neither is it material. However, it feems, this occasioned orders to be given to the English resident in Holland to insist with the States General, either to apprehend, or to remove these banished ministers from Rotterdam, and their do-Something was done to pacify the Resident; but care was taken to give these ministers notice of their danger, so that, for a little, they stept out of the way.

Thus I have, at last, got to the end of this bloody year, which has presented us with a scene of persecution that had not, at that time at least, its parallel, except in

France,

France, where Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantz. 1685. The French King's Edict of Revocation, and other things relating to it, the reader may see in my author, vol. II. p. 580, &c.

Bishop Burnet observes, that "this year 1685 must Bishop ever be remembered, as the most fatal to the protestant Burnet's religion. In February the King of England declared remark, himself a papist. In June, Charles the Elector Palatine p. 655. dying without issue, the electoral dignity went to the house of Newburgh, a most bigotted popish family. In Ostober, the King of France recalled and vacated the Edict of Nantz; and in December the Duke of Savoy, being brought to it, not only by the persuasions, but even by the threatnings of the Court of France, recalled the edict, that his father had granted to the Vaudois;" but I must leave these things.

The Council registers end the 31st of December, from No more which time to the revolution, none of the warrants were registers. booked. Why their actings were not recorded after this, my author does not know the reason; we shall

now foon get to the end of this hiftory.

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## CHAP. XV.

Of the proceedings of the Justiciary and Parliament; the King's remarkable letter in favour of the papists; the death and character of the revd. Mr. Peden; the state of Mr. Renwick and his followers; the various branches of persecution and acts of indulgence, with other things to the end of the year 1687.

THE persecution, in some of its branches, was not so fo violent, during the three following years, as before. Most of the presbyterian ministers were banish-Persecuted. The Gentlemen and Heritors who favoured prestion bytery, were either dead, forseited, or banished. Many of the common people were cut off, transported to the plantations, shut up in prisons, or made compliances; Vol. II.

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cept Mr. Renwick and his adherents. But the chief motive of the abating the former severities, was this: the King and those about him had formed the design of repealing the penal statutes against the Roman catholicks, it would therefore have been very indecent to continue the persecution against dissenting protestants, when such favours were to be given to Papists; but then, though the acts of persecution in some measure ceased, yet the spirit still remained, and some remarkable instances of cruelty are recorded by my author.

Fines in the parish of Calder.

Many were the fines and exorbitant exactions made upon poor people, of which the following is well vouched from the parish of Calder: James Donaldson portioner of Ralbreston, for a meeting for prayer at his house on a Lord's day, was fined and payed 200 l. John Baxter for ditto, 40 l. Walter Donaldson for his wise's being present, 36 l. Several other poor people were fined, making in all 816 l. 16s. Scots. William Stirling the Baily-depute of the regality of Glasgow, who imposed those fines, got them for his pains, which doubtless animated his zeal; for he had a gift of all the fines, for church-irregularities in that parish, below heritors. He used to threaten the poor people with present imprisonment, unless they engaged to bring a certain sum by such a day.

Plunder-

Plunderings and oppressions still continued. In the parish of Dalry, three men having retired to a wood for social prayer, and being over-heard, a party came and fired upon them; but they hapily escaped, which so enraged the soldiers, that they plundered the neighbourhood, and brought the heritors there to much trouble.

Appres-

In the beginning of this year, a party came to the parish of Stonebouse in Lanerkshire, and carried off eight men and two women, who had sucking infants at their breasts, for alledged hearing an ejected minister. The poor mothers were forced to leave their tender infants to the care of providence. Another party commanded by Hallyards, dreadfully oppressed the neighbouring parish of Glasford, plundered the house, and spoiled the goods of one Jannet Scot a widow, because it was alledged her son had been at Bothwel.

Many

Many Gentlemen, who had been with Argyle, or fa- 1686. voured his cause, were forced to conceal themselves in dens and caves of the earth; and others were forced to pay prodigious compositions for their fines.

Besides Mr. Renwick, there were some presbyterian Presbyte. ministers, both last year and this, who preached with rian mithe utmost fecrecy, as Mr. George Barclay, Mr. Robert nisters, Langlands, Mr. George Guthrie, Mr. John Black, and vately.

Mr. Duncan Campbel.

The Lords of Justiciary went on in their forfeitures; Eighty and on the 4th of January about 80, mostly of the condemnname of Campbel, were indicted, and sentenced to be ed. executed when apprehended. Among others were Sir Duncan Gampbel of Auchinbreck, Gampbel of Bar-

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The fame day, the process against the deceased Duke Process of Buccleugh and Monmouth was put off till February, against when he was forfeited, and Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun was mouth, profecuted for being with Monmouth, brought in guilty, &c. and fentenced to be executed, when apprehended. Lord Stair's process was put off from time to time, till at last a pardon was procured for him. His crimes were receiving rent from rebels and traitors, harbouring Mr. Alexander Lennox, Mr. Alexander Ross, Mr. Alexander Peden, and Mr. Alexander Hamilton, who were all called vagrant preachers, fuffering them to preach and baptize children in his house, and drawing a petition for, and giving his advice to, some of the rebels, On the 18th, Duncan Campbel of Allangreg junr. for his accession to the late Earl of Argyle, was ordered to be executed along with his father on the 9th of July next, but remissions were procured before that time.

On the 26th of January, that singularly pious Mr. Mr. Pe-Alexander Peden (vol. I. p. 411, 412, 472, 475) died in den's death and full affurance of faith, and was privately interred in the character. Church of Auchinleck. He was minister of Glenluce before the restoration. P. Walker tells us from eye-witneffes, that, as he came down from the pulpit upon preaching his farewel-fermon, when ejected, he knock'd on the door three times with his Bible, faying, I arrest thee, in my Master's name, that never any enter thee, but such

During the last year, he wandered from place to

place, through Airshire and Galloway. He was in-

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1686. as come in at the door as I did. Accordingly it was remarked, that neither curate nor indulged ever entered that pulpit, till after the revolution when a presbyterian

minister preached there.

defatigable in prayer, and was one of those fearers of God's name, with whom the fecret of the Lord was: for he certainly foretold feveral things that came to pass. John Ker of Kersland, Esq; in his Memoirs, speaking of p. 8. Mr. Peden, fays, "Abundance of this good man's predictions are well known to be already come to pass."-Accordingly, he mentions the following: "When he was fick unto death, in the year 1686, he told his friends, that he should die in a few days; but having, faid be, foretold many things, which will require some time before they be verified, I will give you a fign, which will confirm your expectation, that they will as furely come to pass, as those you have already seen accomplished before your eyes; I shall be decently buried by you; but if my body be suffered to rest in the grave, where you shall lay it, then I have been a deceiver, and the Lord hath not spoken by me; whereas, if the enemy come a little afterwards to take it up, and carry it away to bury it in an ignominous place, then I hope you will believe, that God Almighty hath spoken by me, and consequently, there shall not one word fall to the ground." Accordingly, about 40 days after his interment, a troop of dragoons came, lifted his corps, and carried them two miles to Cumnock, and buried them there under the gallows.

Renwick's life, p. 99.

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Mr. Pe-

den.

was much alienated from Mr. Renwick, and spoke bitterly against him. This exceedingly grieved Mr. Renwick, stumbled many of his followers, and confirmed his adversaries, who boasted, that now Mr. Peden also was turned his enemy: but when he was a dying, he fent for Mr. Renwick, and asked him if he was that Mr. Renwick there was fo much noise about. passages of him a decent and proper answer, and such an account of his conversion and call to the ministry, of his principles,

Mr. Peden, through the misrepresentations of some,

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and the grounds of his contending against tyrany and 1686. defections, that Mr. Peden was satisfied, and expressed his sorrow for giving credit to the reports that were spread against him. As for those papers which were handed about under Mr. Peden's name, they are upon good grounds, looked upon as spurious.

Mr. Renwick was not only exposed to the resentment Mr. Renost the managers, but also suffered exceedingly from the wick actongues of those, who had been formerly persecuted for vid. his the same cause; particularly, one of the ministers who life by came over with Argyle, accused him and those that adhered to him, "1. Of overturning presbyterian government even to the soundation, and putting in its room p. 84, a popular confusion; in committing the trial both of the degree of scandal and censure, to persons that are not church-officers. 2. Of thrusting themselves most unhappily into the magistrates room, making themselves a convention of estates, and managing both civil and church-affairs by the same persons and as-

"to be disowned, there being now not a minister in "Scotland, England or Ireland, save one, as he (Mr. "Renwick) saith, in a letter to a friend in Ireland, and "he no minister of that church either, and that by his "own confession."

" fembly. 3. Of imposing most unhappy restrictions

"on ministers, in the exercise of their ministry, and, when they cannot own nor preach upon these terms, calling them-filent and unfaithful, and requiring them

His answer was in substance as follows, "I. That bis answers they never committed the trial either of the scandal swers." or censure, in a judicial way, to the people, but only p. 85.

—allowed them to judge, how they themselves were to carry towards the scandalous, if the scandal might bear the weight of withdrawing from him.—

"Simple withdrawing, is not the inslicting of a censure; but only a testifying, that it should be inslicted by such as are competent, Rom. xvi. 17. 2 Thes.

"iii. 14.——In a broken state of the church, when church-judicatories cannot be had, there must be some fuch private withdrawing, else all must go into confusion, the faithful partake of other mens sins, pri-

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1686. " vate and popular means of reclaiming offending " brethren, and the testimonies of the faithful shall " fall to the ground. This is not to overturn presby. terian government. 2. If declining magistrates, be-" cause tyrants, be thrusting ourselves into the magi-" strate's room, then every man declining a prelate, be-" cause not of Christ's appointment, thrusts himself into p. 86, "the prelate's room. This is all the import of our " declarations. How can it be instructed, that we have " acted as a convention of estates? (p. 176) The mere dif-" owning of the present government will not infer it .-" As to the expression, what needs so much fighting " about it? I wish these words had been otherwise expressed. Why are men made such offenders for " words? Will fuch a spirit be helpful to the healing of breaches. — We hold none of these declarations. " or any other things, to have been emitted by Judi-" catories. The fame persons having ecclesiaftical au-"thority, and others having civil authority, cannot " concur in one action. We leave this to the tyrant's p. 87. " council, made up of Lords spiritual and temporal, as "they call them. 3. We never, in the least, intend-" ed any restrictions on Ministers, but only defired "they might declare the whole council of God, and " would have them take a liberty to preach up " all duties, and down all fin. This is no restriction " or imposition. I am against the people's desiring " any thing of ministers, but what is divinely bound " upon them by the Word of God, and ecclefiastically by our national and folemn covenants, and the acts of our "General Assemblies. As to that, that I should have

" faid, in a letter, that there is not a minister in Scot-" land, &c. faithful, fave one. I forgive the faying of

" me; but I deny the charge. If I have written

of ministers unfaithfulness, in universal terms, it is a " wide consequence to infer, I asserted there was but

" one That by my own confession, I am not a " minister of this church, I altogether deny. I faid,

"I am a minister, wherever I have a call from the " people, and do embrace it. O that all those who

" shall agree together in heaven were agreeing upon « earth! " earth! I think, if my blood could be a mean to pro- 1686.

" cure that, I could willingly offer it."

There were feveral more letters interchanged between R. Cathhim and the same minister, besides some from other cart's inhands, containing many accusations, especially a large formation. information stuffed, fays Mr. Shields, with the groffest mifrepresentations, all accumulated in one draught of a paper divulged not only here [Scotland] but carried over to Holland, and very industriously spread by one Alexander Gordon, once a member of these societies. Mr. Wodrow fays, that, in the entry of this year 1686, Robert Cathcart, a very pious and knowing christian in Carrick, who had formerly joined with the focieties, but now was very much for union, and quitting their beights, drew up an information relating to Mr. Renwick and his party, that he had no thoughts of its going abroad; but when he had communicated it to a friend, it took air. It is in his appendix; and there he charges the focieties with taking upon them the government in church and state, and the management of both civil and ecclefiaftical affairs, affuming to themselves the name and title of Convention of Estates, imposing restrictions on ministers, making canons, &c. Whether such an information as this was a proper means for union, must be left with the reader.

On the 28th of January, a general meeting of the fo-General cieties was held at Frierminion, to which the above-men-meeting at tioned Alexander Gordon, John Dick, and some others Friermicame, who were, fays my author, for uniting with and hearing other fuffering ministers, as well as Mr. Renwick. There was a long conference with the last mentioned persons, about many things, which he does not insert, but tells us, that after they had owned their hearing of Mr. Barclay, when he had fatisfied them in conversation, and because they would not absolutely disown Argyle's declaration, and promife to do nothing for the future, without the allowance of the meeting, they debarred them, in time to come, from their meeting, and would have no more fellowship with them.

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When they returned to their constituents, there was a large meeting of those who were for union with the

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1686. other suffering ministers, to which an account was given of the conference of Frierminion, and R. Cathcart's information was read, and a copy of it fent to feveral presbyterian ministers for their judgment My author fays further, that this step of the general meeting a Frierminion, in breaking fellowship with such as were for hearing other honest ministers, and endeavouring to make up breaches among sufferers, did them much harm in the eyes of sober on-lookers.

Renwick's

The revd. Mr. Shields tells us, that there were with Mr. Gordon feveral others, who followed the informing trade, especially in Car life, p. 88. rick, one Robert Catheart, John Dick and others, who never left of with their clamorous tongues and scribling pens, to spread their ac cusations against Mr. Renwick; and that Cathcart, in a particula manner, accused him and his adherents, " As such whom the Lord " had given up, in a great measure, to the delusions of their own de " ceitful hearts, to believe lies, &c. and persevere in the breach of " our known covenants in two points.

p. 89,

" I. IN that of error and herefy; for, 1. With the papifts, the " would have their church infallible; their practice testifies this, inde " clining a minister, be he never so faithful, for the least alledged per " fonal failing.-2. With the independents, upon the least fail " ing of a minister, they take upon them the power to depose. " think, faid he, they needed not to have troubled the Church " Groningen with the ordination of their Rabbi Mr. Renwick, the " might as well have ordained him themselves, ordination being a " much in their power, as deposition. 3. In very little they differ from " the separatists.

" II. In that of church-discipline and government—as, 1. The " fending over a youth, scarce read in the common heads of divinity " to Groningen, a most corrupt church, --- having declined the faith " ful ministers of the church of Scotland, and set him up in the " room, as Jeroboam the fon of Nebat did, when he made the ide " calves, crying, Behold thy Gods, O Ifrael !-- 2. By their med " ling with things, which only belong to a church judicatory, and " the highest church judicatory; not only being laik men they ex " amine faults, yea, absolve the guilty, but also constitute laws an " make acts, which none but a General Assembly could do.-" Must the gospel live and die with Mr. Renwick, suppose he wa " a minister of the church of Scotland, which he is not?-" church of Groningen had no more power to ordain a minister of the

p. 90,

" consecrate Sharp Archbishop of St. Andrews." This was a fevere accusation of being given up of God to believ lies, &c, &c. but I shall abridge Mr. Shields's account of the answer given to the above, and the rather that my author Mr. Wodrow ha

" church of Scotland, than the clergy of England had, long ago,

entirely concealed thefe.

Mr. Renwick and those with him lamented their breach of cover nant, and wished their brethren, with whom they contended, wet fensible of theirs in all its parts and articles, for which they we obliged to discountenance them, as in complying with, and conni ing at, many things everfive of the covenanted reformation, viz. " Supremacy in the former indulgences, &c. their having, many of them made their peace with papifis; all have owned the head of papifi

Mr. Shields's answers, Ibid.

p. 91.

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the great pillar and promoter of popery, &c. &c.—but then tho' themselves confessed many breaches, yet they denied these mentioned by this accuser, who, says Mr. Shields, belies, or ignorantly misrepresents those, with whom he would compare Mr. Renwick and his followers.

92,

"For, 1. The papifts never pretended, that every one of their doctors or laicks were infallible,—and the men he accuses have been
fo far from pretending to infallibility, that they have not declined
to publish their resentments and confessions of their mistakes to the
world;—but that error they will not confess,—that ever they
declined a faithful minister, for the least alledged personal failings.

2. He belies the independents, in alledging, they take upon
them to depose ministers for the least failing; they will disown that.

93.

"Mr. Renwick did ever abhor, that people should take upon them to depose ministers for any failing, the least or the greatest, nor did he ever allow people, so much as to withdraw from ministers, upon the least failing; but upon such scandals, as did bear the weight of withdrawing, according to scripture rules. They had reason and necessity, to trouble the church at Groningen, not to make a rabbi of him, but—to ordain him a minister of the new testament, seeing they could neither have clearness in point of duty, nor considence in point of success, to seek or obtain ordination for him from ministers at home;—and they did always disclaim all power, either of ordaining, or deposing, of themselves. 3. He does not say, wherein they either agree or differ from the separatists. There were never separatists who deposed ministers for the least

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"failing.—— 4. If he had been a youth, scarce read in the common beads of divinity; he discovers himself very ill read, when he calls this a breach of church-government, to send such a youth to a foreignuniversity, to be sitted for ordination,—and then, after trial, to be ordained by a reformed sister church, sound in their own, and not contradicting our testimony, when ordination could not be had at home, without the breach of several standing constitutions of the government, yea, without yielding to several corruptions, threating the dissolution and perversion of the whole of it, yea, without bowing to some of the calves seroboam had set up; for, without—subjecting himself either to the idol of prelacy, or supremacy, or something equivalent thereunto, he could not have got ordination in Scotland at that time.— 5. They, whom he

953

"accuses, never examined faults, nor absolved the guilty, in a "way belonging to any church-judicature, nor in a way not competent to the meanest private person—in the kingdom,—nor did they ever make any laws or acts, but such, as any two or three in society might make by common consent, to determine one another; nor did they ever say, or dream, that the gospel should live and die with Mr. Renwick; but that they were content to live and die with him, in partaking of gospel ordinances,—whom they

"to fit as member of any church judicatory therein. The church "for Groningen did not make him a minister of the church of Scot"land; but ordained him a minister of Christ,—a minister of the

church universal (which is the primary relation of all ministers) a Vol. II. Mm m "minister"

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" minister in any church: and as a persecuted people in Scotland cal" led him to be their minister, so he came to have as good right to
" be a minister of the church of Scotland, as Mr. Rough, Mr. Knox,

"and feveral reformers, who were not ordained by the ministers of Scotland—and therefore, the difference between the church of Groningen's ordaining Mr. Renwick, &c. and the clergy of Eng-

" land's confecrating Sharp—is as great, as between a reformed church ordaining a faithful officer of Christ's kingdom, and a de-

" formed church confecrating a knave no officer of Christ's, but of

" Antichrist's kingdom."

Thus I have laid before the reader the substance of these unhappy debates, in the very words of the contending parties; and shall leave him to judge for himself, and proceed to other things of a more publick nature, when I have observed, that these things put Mr. Renwick and his followers to publish their informatory vindication, which took up several months, before it was ready for the press.

About the end of January, or beginning of February, there were

fome tumults in Edinburgh, by whom the Lord Perth the Chancellor was much affronted. Bishop Burnet gives the following account of it: "Affairs in Scatland went on much in the same way as in

of it: " Affairs in Scotland went on much in the same way as in England. Some few profelytes were gained. The Earl of Perth prevailed with his Lady, as she was dying, to change her religion, and, in a very few weeks after her death, married very indecently a fifter of the Duke of Gordon's. The Earl fet up a private chapel in the court for mass, which was not kept so private, but that many frequented it. The town of Edinburgh was much alarmed at this. And the rabble broke in with fuch fury, that they defaced every thing in the chapel; and if the Earl of Perth had not been conveyed away in difguise, he had very probably fallen a sacrifice to popular rage. The guards, upon the alarm, came and dispersed the rabble. Some were taken, and one that was a ringleader in the tumult, was executed for it. When at the place of execution, he told Mr. Macom one of the ministers of the town, who attended him, that he was offered his life, if he would accuse the Duke of Queensberry of having fet on the tumult; but he would not fave his life by fo false a calumny. The incautious minister did not call any to bear witness of this; but went from the execution to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and told him, what had past. The Archbishop acquainted the Duke with it, and he wrote to court and complained of The King ordered the matter to be examined; fo the poor minister, having none to witness what had been faid to him, was de-

publick is apt to judge true." Thus far the Bishop.

A letter from the King, dated the 9th of February, came to the ministers of state, declaring his resentment of the affront given to his chief minister, and ordering those concerned to be brought to con-

clared the author of that calumny, and turned out; but how feverely

foever those in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the

dign punishment.

Great care was taken at this time to corrupt the youth. And among other things, a BOND was devised to be figned by the decents of the college of Edinburgh, declaring their abhorrence of all tumults, and engaging, for the future, to discourage and discountenance

Rife of the informatory windication.

A tumult at Edinburgh, p. 678.

King's let-

Bond for the stu-dents.

nance them. How far the students complied with this bond, my au- 1686.

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But it is well known, that a storm of popery and slavery was ready Proclamato destroy the three nations; and the poor protestants in Ireland lay tion by the most open to the impending deluge, from the multitude of papists, Earl of who were ready to act over again their former bloody massacres. Tyrcon-Some ministers there, and others, had therefore the justice and courage, nel. to warn their fellow protestants of the danger they were in, which was very displeasing to the Earl of Tyrconnel the Lord Deputy; who therefore emitted a proclamation, on the 21st of February, against treafonable speeches; for it seems, it was reckoned treason, to preach or speak against popery, or the danger the King's protestant subjects were in, from the defigns then evidently formed against them : but as the affairs of Ireland are out of my way, I shall not trouble the reader with them. About this time, the King wrote to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, commanding them to enjoin their Clergy, not to preach upon controverted points, i. e. against popery, according to the directions given by the late King 1662. But to return to the affairs of Scotland.

On the 1st of March, David Robertson writer in Cowpar, was de- Mr. Renclared fugitive. And in this month Mr. Renwoick, defiring to fee his wick in old acquaintances, went, with fome of his fellow-wanderers, to Car- Carrick. rick, where, fays Mr. Shields, they were, unexpectedly, rencoun- See his tered with the forementioned Robert Catheart, and others, who life, p. 97. challenged him for coming, and offering to preach there, and told him, that the people in Carrick were neither for meeting, nor converling with him. After some debate about the breach of former communion, they conversed concerning Catheart's letter and information, which he owned he had wrote, and intended to explain; but that he had wrote of them not as they were, but as they would be; and that he converfed with Mr. Renswick as a minister of the gospel, but not as a minister of the church of Scotland, and defended his accusations against the church of Groningen, as erastian, and holding three sprinklings in baptism. Mr. Renwick replied, that many in that church called it a perfecution, to term them erastian, and that though they were for three sprinklings in baptism, yet without superstition, fince they looked upon it as indifferent. Upon this, Mr. Renwick was exclaimed against, as if he defended the practice of three fprinklings in baptism." But I shall not trouble the reader with these debates, further than to observe, that, if Mr. Renwick and his adherents were too stiff and rigorous in points, which some may look upon as indifferent, they, who contended with him, do not feem to have acted a proper part for bringing about a reconciliation: but these things I must leave with the reader, and go on to things of a more publick nature.

It was known in March, that the Parliament was to meet next The King's month, and the King's defign to repeal the penal laws was made no defign in fecret of, and no method was left unattempted to bring the members the Parto a compliance. The Earl of Murray was fent down Commissioner; liament. but, according to the Bishop of Sarum, "two accidents happened be- p. 679. fore the opening of the Parliament, which made great impressions

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on the minds of many.

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1686. Whitford's last popery.

Whitford fon to one of their Bishops, before the wars, had turned papist. He was the person, who killed Dorislaus in Holland, and to get out of Cromwel's reach, had gone into the service of the Duke of Savoy, and was there, when the last massacre was committed on thoughts of the Vaudois. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a small pension given him after the restoration. He died a few days before the Parliament met, and called for fome ministers, to whom he declared his renunciation and abhorrence of popery, for its cruelty, and owned his having been guilty of some execrable murders, in Piedmont, both of women and children, which had purfued him, with an intolerable horror of mind, ever after. He had gone to priests of all forts, who had justified him, in all he had done, and given him absolution: but his conscience purfued him so, that he died as in despair, crying out against that bloody religion.

Sir R. Sibbald's recantation, p. 680.

The other was more folemn. Sir Robert Sibbald a doctor of phyfick, and the most learned antiquary in Scotland, who had lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on, by the Earl of Perth, to turn papist, in order to obtain that certainty, which he could not find upon his own principles. But he was ashamed of his conduct, almost as soon as he made his compliance, went to London, and, for some months, retired from all company, and, after close application to study, came to be so convinced of the errors of popery, that he returned to Scotland, fome weeks before the Parliament, and could not be easy in his own mind, till he made a publick recantation. The Bishop of Edinburgh was so much a courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might be offensive to the Court, he sent him to do it in a church in the country; but the recantation of so learned a man, upon fo much study, had a great effect upon

State of the epifcopal clergy.

Many of the most noted of the established clergy, were brought over to the measures of the Court, or, at least, to be filent at this juncture. Vast numbers of them were become Arminians, and several were running headlong into popish tenets. The bulk of the inferior clergy, through the country, were grofly ignorant, negligent, and many of them scandalous and profane; so that no stand against popery could be expected from them. The Bishops were a mixed company, and some of them did appear, at this time, against the meafures of the Court; but the only appearance made by the rest of the clergy against repealing the penal laws, was from the synod of Aberdeen, who, after some struggle with time-servers, agreed upon an address to Mr. George Halyburton their Bishop, in which they most pathetically entreated him, not to give his confent to the taking off, or weakening the force of the penal Statutes, which they looked upon, as one of the hedges of the protestant religion. Bishop Burnet tays, "The nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and infensible in matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal against popery. Few prosclytes were made after this. The epifcopal clergy were, in many places, fo funk into floth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal. Some of them, about Edinburgh, and in other places, began to mind those matters,

## Chap. 151 CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

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ers, and recovered some degrees of credit, by the opposition they made to Popery. But the presbyterians, though they were now yet expressed, on all occasions, their unconquerable aversion to

The Parliament fat down on the 29th of April, and the King's letter King's letwas read, wherein, after thanking them for the services they had ter to the lone in the last session, and signifying, how much he had considered Parliaheir interest, and sent down an indemnity for all crimes committed ment. gainst his royal person and authority, he adds, " And whilst we hew these acts of mercy to the enemies of our person, crown and royal dignity, we cannot be unmindful of others, our innacent subjets, those of the ROMAN CATHOLICK religion, who have, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, been always affistant to the crown, in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named; THEM we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end, that, as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, fo, by your affiftance, they may have the protection of our laws, and that fecurity under our government, which others of our fubjects have, not fuffering them to lie under obligations, which their religion cannot admit of. By doing whereof, you will give a demonstration of the duty and affection, you have for us, and do us most acceptable service. This love we expect you will shew to your brethren, as you see we are an indulgent father to you

We need be at no loss to understand, whom the King means by Remarks. his enemies; but it feems, the favours defigned for them were to derend upon those he expected for his INNOCENT popille subjects; but low far they affifted the crown in the worst of rebellions, is not so ply to conceive, fince, generally speaking, they have been contimally plotting against it, fince the reformation. No doubt, they were hearty well-wishers to King JAMES, and therefore we need not be surprized at his heartily recommending them to the care of this Parliament. This love, fays he, we expect to your brethren, as we are an insulgent father to you all. Upon which my author, who has made many excellent remarks on this letter, well worth the reader's peruial, fays, they were mightily obliged to their father's indulgence, for bringing in butchering children, their bastard brethren, and making them heirs and portioners with the bairns of the house.

The Commissioner seconded this letter, with a particular account Commis-

of the many advantages, the King intended for Scotland, with re-fioner's pect to trade, and endeavoured to persuade them, that his Majesty's speech, desires were as much calculated for promoting their interest, as his own satisfaction, and concluded with saying, "by this, you will "thew yourselves the best and most affectionate subjects, to the best,

"the incomparable and most heroick Prince in the world."

But notwithstanding all these fine speeches, the Parliament was not Parliao forward as usual, in returning an answer to the King's letter; ments and wither did they chuse, at this time, to embarrass themselves with swer. heir compliments to the throne. Accordingly, it was the 6th of May, before they agreed on an answer, in which, as to what was de-

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fired in favour of the papists, they expressed themselves in these terms, "As to that part of your Majesty's letter, relating to your subjects of the Roman Catholick religion, we shall, in obe. dience to your Majesty's commands, and with tenderness to their persons, take the same into our serious and dutiful consideration, and go as great lengths therein, as our conscience will allow, not doubting, that your Majesty will be careful to secure the protestant religion, established by law." This is the first time, says my author, that he remembers, that the parliament speaks of their conscience, since the restoration.

Members closetted.

The Commissioner was at no small pains, during the first month of the session, in closetting the members, after the example of his his royal master in England, and in using both threatnings and promises in order to bring them to a compliance; but could not prevail with the most of the nobility and gentry, who continued in their

opposing the defired repeal.

No flone was left unturned in electing the Lords of the Articles (vol. I. p. 77) that the King's favourite scheme might meet with no opposition there. It was the 27th of May, before any draught of an act was agreed to. When it was laid before the house, it was warmly opposed, and the courtiers were glad to have it remitted to the Lords of the Articles; but instead of bettering it, they made it more disagreeable to the court; for, after all their debates, they only came into the following.

Draught of an act.

"The estates of Parliament taking to their serious confideration his "Majesty's desire, —for granting ease and relief to his subjects of " the popish persuasion, - and as they are fully resolved to adhere " to the protestant religion, --- which is, and always shall be, " dearer to them, than all their worldly concerns; yet fo far as "their religion and confcience will allow, to yield a humble and dutiful compliance to his Majesty's desires. Therefore, his Ma-" jefty, with advice, &c. statutes and ordains, that those of his " Majesty's subjects, who are of the Romish religion, are, and shall " be, under the protection of his Majesty's government and laws, for " their private and civil interests; and shall not, for the exercise " of their religion in their private houses (all publick worship being " hereby excluded) incur the danger of fanguinary and other punish-" ments contained in any laws or acts of parliament, made against "the fame. It is always hereby declared, that this immunity to papifts, for the exercise of their religion, in their private " bonfes \* allenarly, shall not import any allowance or approbation " of their religion, or any ways evacuate, infringe, or prejudge

\* only.

"the laws and acts of Parliament made against popers, or in favour of the protestant religion,—particularly—the 6th act, Parl. 3. "King Charles II. &c."

The Chancellor, finding that this would not fatisfy the King, and being uncertain whether it would pass in the house, though

proper to drop it entirely; fo that it was never brought into lar

liament. What debates were in the house, were when the in

draught was laid before them.

Motion dropt.

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Bishop Burnet tells us, "that the Dukes of Hamilton and Queenf- 1686. herry were filent in the debate; the former having promifed not to oppose the motion, and the King was made to believe, that the latter secretly managed the opposition. Ross and Paterson so entirely of the Bisorgot what became their characters, that they used their utmost enspoys, p. deavours to persuade the Parliament, to comply with the King's de-680. fire. The Archbishop of Glasgow opposed it but fearfully. Bruce Bishop of Dunkeld did oppose it openly and resolutely, as did likewise Atkin Bishop of Galloway." But the most of them fell in with the King's design, and the chief of them were active for the repeal. Bishop Burnet tays further, that " Ross and Paterson, the two governing Bishops, resolved to let the King see, how compliant they would be. Accordingly, they procured an address to be signed by several of their bench, offering to concur with the King in all that he defired, with relation to those of his own religion (for the courtly file was now, not to name popery any other way, than by calling it the King's religion) provided the laws might still continue in force, and be executed against the presbyterians. With this Paterson went up; but the Earl of Middleton, to whom he shewed it, persuaded him to go back without prefenting it." My author does not know how the Bishop of Aberdeen acted on this occasion. Ramsay Bishop of Ross used great freedom with the Commissioner, for which he was brought into trouble. " The Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop Burnet. of Dunkeld were both turned out by express order from the King. Ibid. Paterson Bishop of Edinburgh was translated to Glasgow, and one Hamilton, noted for profaneness and impiety, that sometimes broke out into blasphemy, obtained the see of Dunkeld. The King being disappointed, ordered his Commissioner to prorogue the Parliament." I must refer my reader to my author's appendix for what was faid for and against the repeal of the penal laws at this time. Only I cannot but observe, that great care was taken, that nothing might be published against the King's favourite defign, or in defence of the standing laws; whereas papers on the other side of the question were industriously dispersed, and many popish books and pamphlets were spread for corrupting the nation.

On the 2d of June, Lord Pitmedden was turned out of the Justiviary. His steady attachment to the protestant religion, and his opposition to popery, procured him this. And on the 16th, the Counal emitted a proclamation against slanderers and leasing-makers, because several ministers, and others, had took upon them, in sermons

and other discourses, to alarm the people, &c.

On the 14th of July, Gavin Weir and William M'Millan, who had been in prison for Bothwel, were released; the former because there was not evidence against him, and the latter upon making sahistying compliances. But not to infift now on these things.

When the King's project was defeated in this Parliament, he felt The King eght upon other methods for bringing in papiles to places of profit alls by a lar and trust, and overturning the protestant religion. Accordingly his dispensing ful Majesty made use of a dispensing power, and had a party about him, power. that would have us to believe, That poquer in the King to dispense Welwith laws, was law. To maintain this, there were not only wood. p. thop mercenary pens set a-work, but a set of judges found out, that, to 171, 172.

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their eternal repreach, did all, that was possible for them, to compliment the King with the liberties of their country. For these Gentlemen gave it for law

which is declared legal by the English Judges.

That the Kings of England are sovereign Princes; that the laws of England are the King's laws; that therefore it is an inseparable prerogative in the Kings of England—to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, and upon particular necessary reasons; that of those reasons and those necessities, the King himself is the sole judge; and that this is not a trust invested in, or granted to, the King by the people, but is the antient remain of the sovereign power and prerogative of the Kings of England, which never yet was taken from them, nor can be.

Ecclesiastical commission. In consequence of this, a new court of inquisition was erected, under the name of a commission for ecclesiastical affairs, which was against an express act of Parliament: but as the King was pushing his design with great vigour in England, as the reader may see in the English instorians, so he acted in the same arbitrary manner in Scotland; for though he could not get the consent of the Parliament there, to the repeal of the penal statutes, he did it without them by his own dispensing power.

Proteftants turned out.

Accordingly, he first turned the best protestants out of the Council, and supplied their place with papists. Thus the Earls of Mar, Lothian, Dumfries, &c. were made to give place to the Duke of Gordon, Earls of Traquair and Seaforth, and other papists. The Council being thus modelled to his mind, he sent them a most remarkable letter, of which the following is a short extract:

King's letter difpenfing with the penal laws. "Right trusty, &c. It was not any doubt we had of our power, in the putting a stop to the unreasonable severities of the acts of Parliament, against those of the Roman catholick religion, that made us bring in our designs to our Parliament, but to give our loyal subjects a new opportunity of shewing their duty to us, &c. in which we promised ourselves their hearty and dutiful concur-

"rence, as what was founded on that folid justice, we are resolved to distribute to all, and consequently to our catholick subjects;—
"for when unnatural rebellions have been raised, against our royal

"father, brother, and us, by protestant desenders of those laws,—
"the Roman catholicks have still adhered to the royal interest,—

"fupported the crown, died for the peace of their persecutors, and 
thought nothing too dear to buy the generous character of religious 
towards God, and loyal towards their sovereigns. When all this

" had appeared, ——we could do no less, than secure the INNOCENT

" We have also thought fit to let you

"We have also thought fit to let youknow, that, as we HAVE per"formed our part, in supporting those of the protestant religion, so
"we are resolved to protect our catholick subjects, against all the in-

"fults of their enemies, and feverity of the laws made against them heretofore; notwithstanding all which, we, hereby, allow

"them the free private exercise of their religion in houses, in which we—require you to support and maintain them.—

"And, to the end the catholick worship may, with the more de"cency and security, be exercised at Edinburgh, we have thought
"set to adaptish our should within our pales, of Historical house

" fit to establish our chapel, within our palace of Holy-rood-house

## CHURCH of SCOTLAND. Chap. 15.

" and to appoint a number of chaplains and others, whom we require 1686. " you to have in your special protection and care. You are " likewife to take care, that there be no preachers, nor others, fuf-" fered to infinuate to the people any fears or jealousies, as if we "intended to make any violent alteration; and if any shall be so

" bold, you are to punish them according to law s---- for it is far " from our thoughts, to use any violence in matters of conscience,

" confistent with our authority and the peace of our antient king

" dom."--

The rest of this plain letter contains the King's resolutions, to maintain the Bishops and inferior clergy, and all his subjects in their rights and privileges, and therefore his hopes that all compliance and concurrence will be given to these things; so that upon the whole, what his Majesty could not get done by the Parliament, he was refolved to do by his own authority; and indeed it must be owned, that, fince the restoration, the Parliaments of Scotland, which should have preserved the liberties of the subject, complimented the King with an absolute authority. It is easy here to observe, with what contempt he fpeaks of the laws, for the fecurity of the protestant religion, against the wicked defigns of the papists, how mightily he extols their loyalty to his father, brother, and himself, how he brands the protestants as seditious and rebellious, and how he had already performed his part, in supporting those of the protestant religion, and consequently his resolutions, from this time forward, to support his innocent catholick subjects, do not feem consistent with his promises to maintain the Bishops and inferiour clergy; but these and other things cannot but furnish the protestant reader with proper reflections.

In September, the Council emitted a proclamation containing the King's indemnity to the common people in the shires of Argyle and Tarbet; but then this indemnity regarded only their lives; their goods and chattels were exposed to every one, who should be pleased to at-

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I have given a pretty full account of the flate of Mr. Renewick and W. Me his followers, and how he was deferted and accused by several, who Hutchihad formerly adhered to him. Notwithstanding all the discouragements son's prohe met with, he continued preaching, catechifing, and baptizing; testation. but as he traveled through Galloway, a protestation was given to him by William M'Hutchison, in the name of all the professors be-

tween Dee and Cree, of which the following is the substance. "We undersubscribers, — confidering—the word effects of di-"vision, —especially among ourselves, —proceeding partly from " some paying cess, hearing curates, taking the late abjuration-oath, " and partly from others condemning these things, and adhering to the late declaration on the church doors—and to Mr. J. Renwick, without the confent and approbation of the remnant godly and faithful ministers. We do hereby refer and submit our-" selves, in all these, to an assembly of faithful ministers and elders " - the only competent judges of fuch debatable principles and " practices, and promifing on the one hand to give fatisfaction " to the church,—as we shall be found guilty—of any thing " done by us, to the scandal of our dear brethren; and on the other, " to forbear to join with Mr. J. Renwick, till-his ordination be VOL. II. Nnn

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" feen and approved of, by a competent number of the faithful " ministers of the church of Scotland, - and are willing, upon his " fubmission to his brethren, to receive him into our bosom;-

" but if he, at the defire of strangers, or any of our brethren di-" viding from us, intrude himself on our labours, -till we

" have the mind of faithful ministers, we will protest against all " fuch dealing, as horrid and abominable usurpation. Subscribed, in

" the name of the whole, by William M'Hutchison.

Renwick's Life, p. 101.

As Mr. Renwick told his mind to the two men, that brought this paper, which, according to Mr. Wodrow, was on the 22d of October, so on the Thursday following, he read it over at a publick meeting in the fields, and animadverted upon it, as a paper that overturned many pieces of the reformation, in calling hearing of curates, paying the cess, and swearing the abjuration-oath debateable principles; and exhorted them, if there were any there that concurred in it, to retract the fame, and those who were innocent, to protest their innocence before the Lord, as in his letter to Earlstown,

Mr. Shields joined the focieties.

One Welsh of Cornlee (p. 323, 324) gave in likewise a verbal protestation against him; but soon after this, as his work daily increased and his difficulties multiplied, Mr. David Houstoun from Ireland, and the revd. Mr. Alexander Shields took part with him, and were received by him with great chearfulness, by which it appeared, that it was an unjust reflection upon him, that he never defired to join with another minister. How far Mr. Shields was against some of the beights, as my author expresses himself, that Mr. Renwick and some of his followers ran into, I know not; but this is certain, that he concurred with him in the informatory vindication, defended the chief points in controversy, in his Hind let loofe, and vindicated the heads of his dying testimony, in the history of his life; but these things I must leave, and conclude this year with some things, of which I have not the dates, when I have observed, that on the 9th of December, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 100% Sterl. to any who should bring in Mr. Renwick, dead or alive.

Sufferings of Mr. and D.

Cuming.

Some time this year, Masters William, Patrick, and Duncan Cumings were forced to retire to Ireland. I have before me a particular Will. Pat. account of their sufferings from their cousin, the revd. Mr. John

Cuming minister at Humby.

Mr. William Cuming, after the year 1660, was unanimously chosen humanity professor in the college of Edinburgh, having no other recommendation but his bright parts, in which he out-shon fix other competitors, and, a few years after, was admitted, without trial, professor of philosophy there. Sharp understanding that, before this, he had been licensed to preach by presbyterian ministers, so harassed him, that he was obliged to demitt his office, notwithstanding the intercession of several noblemen and gentlemen, to whom his usual anfwer was, that he would pervert the nation with whiggish and fanatical principles. Mr. Cuming then went abroad tutor to Lord Lorn, afterward the first Duke of Argyle. When he left that nobleman, he passed his time in Holland and France, till the death of the late King, when he went to Ireland, where he died.

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His brother Mr. Patrick, who was educated under his care, was fixed, while but 18 years of age, at the school of Irving, where, by his pregnant genius and close application, he raised a school so renowned, that not only the most of the noblemen and gentlemen's sons in the west of Scotland, but some from England, Ireland, and France were educated there. After he had continued 12 years remarkably useful, and in great esteem, notwithstanding his being frequently pushed at for his principles, he was discharged to teach any longer; however, at the pressing follicitations of the inhabitants, he continued another half year, his school being the chief support of the place. warrant being granted for apprehending him dead or alive, he was obliged to retire to Holland and France; and at last, this year, he followed his brother to Ireland, where he preached the Gospel as collegue with Mr. J. Boyse, till after the revolution, when he returned to Scotland, and was fixed minister at Ormiston, where he died 1732.

Mr. Duncan Cuming a younger brother, was governor to a young gentleman, who was taught at Irving-school, and was, for some time, one of his brother's affistants. At last, he was persuaded by Mr. George Hutchison, Mr. Wedderburn, and other indulged ministers, to commence a preacher. This coming to the government's ears, he fled with his brother to Holland, where he studied physick. After that he followed his brothers to Ireland, where he acted as a physician in Such was the reputation he gained in that country, that he was employed by the protestant differents there, to go to Holland with their address to the Prince of Orange 1688, which his Highness graciously received, and by whom he was afterwards promoted to be one of his physicians to his army in Ireland. He was, like his brethren, eminent for piety, a father to the poor, and a great promoter of the diffenting interest in that kingdom, till his death in September 1727. Mr. Boyse preached his funeral sermon, and gives his character at large.

In December this year, David Steil in the parish of Lesmahago, D. Steil was furprifed in the fields by Lieutenant Creichton, and, after he had murdered. furrendered upon quarters, was most barbarously shot, and lies buried in the church-yard there. I now go on to the year 1687.

It is easy to see, from the former proceedings, what quick advances were making towards Rome. The King's promises to the English Council to preserve the protestant religion were intirely forgot, and none was fo bold as to remind him of them. It was even Progress dangerous to speak of these things in publick conversation, for fear of Popery. of some mischievous consequences. Protestants were turned out, and Rapin. papists succeeded them, and none but papists, or protestants, who were not attached to their own religion, could pretend to any employments; nay, matters were carried on so openly, that some of the principal catholicks could not forbear representing to the King, that his proceedings were more dangerous than advantageous to their feligion; but JAMES was deaf to all but violent councils, and fuch as were agreeable to his temper and zeal.

A Jesuit of Liege, in a letter to a Jesuit of Fribourgh, dated the 2d Letter of February, gives a clear representation of this, saying, among from a other things, "It is wonderful to see King JAMES's great affect Jesuit at " tion to our fociety. - Upon Father John Keynes's return to Eng- Liege. Nnn 2 " land,

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" land, he gave him a most gracious reception (while Earls and "Dukes were commanded, for some hours, to wait for admittance) --- and ordered that the candidates for orders should be all ex-" ercifed in the art of preaching; for now, fays he, England has need of fuch .- Father Clare being arrived at London-the King forbid him to kneel and kiss his hand, \_\_\_ saying, Reverend " Father, you have indeed once kiffed my hand; but if I had known " then, as I do now, that you were a priest, I would rather myelf, " Father, have kneeled down and kiffed your hand; and told him, that " he would either convert England or dye a MARTYR. - Finally, " he called himself a SON OF THE SOCIETY, of whose good success, " he faid, he was as glad as of his own. Not long fince, one " of the Lords objected, that they thought be made too much haste to " establish the FAITH. To whom he answered, I am growing old, " and must take LARGE STEPS, else if I should happen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worse condition than I found you. When they asked him, why then be was so little concerned about the con-" version of his daughters, who were the heirs of the kingdom? he " answered, God will take care of THAT. Leave the conversion of "my daughters to me. Do you, by your example, convert your tenants and others to the FAITH." The rest of this well known letter shows what progress the King had made, in favour of papists, which I need not here repeat. Therefore I shall briefly relate the affairs of Scotland this year, the most remarkable of which was the TOLE-RATION.

J. Cunningham, &c. banished.

The artillery of the government was chiefly directed against Mr. Renwick and his followers. Accordingly, as James Cunningbam merchant in Glasgow, and John Buchannan cooper there, were returning from hearing a sermon in the fields, they were sent in prisoners to Edinburgh, and banished to Barbadoes.

Sir J. Dalrymple made Adwocate.

On the 1st of February, Sir John Dalrymple was admitted King's Advocate, in the room of Sir George Mackenzie, who was turned out, because, as my author thinks, he had not been hearty in the repeal of the penal statutes.

The same day, James Sloss merchant in Glasgow, and a great many country people, from the parish of Kilbride, who had been confined for alledged accession to Bothwel, were released; but things

of a more publick nature require our confideration.

King's letter and proclemation.

As all methods were used, that the present circumstances could permit, for establishing popery in England, so the like attempts were made for promoting the same cause in Scotland. The King, by his royal prerogative, had last year established a popish chapel at Holyrood-bouse, and allowed the papishs the exercise of their religion in private houses; and multitudes of seminary priests having come from abroad, and not a few of the nobility and gentry, and the most active persecutors, during the former years, having professed popery, on the 17th of February, the Council received a letter from the King, with a remarkable proclamation inclosed. In the letter, he tells them, among other things, that while he thinks sit to give ease to tender consciences, he, at the same time, expressed "his highest indignation against those enemies of Christianity, as well as go"vernment and human society, the Field-conventiclers, whom he re"commends

" commends to the Council to root out, with all the severity of the 1687. " laws, and the most vigorous prosecution of the forces, it being " equally his and his people's concern to be rid of them." The King

in the proclamation, among other things, fays,

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" So help me GOD.

"We have thought fit to grant, and, by our fovereign authority, " prerogative royal and absolute power, which all our subjects are to obey without referve, do hereby, give and grant our royal TOLE-"RATION to the feveral professors of the christian religion, after-" named, and under the several conditions, &c. after mentioned. In " the first place, we --- tolerate the moderate presbyterians to meet " in their private houses, and there to hear such ministers, as either have, or are willing to accept of our indulgence \* allenarly, and that \* only, "there be not any thing faid, or done, contrary to the well and " peace of our reign, seditious or treasonable, under the highest pains their crimes will import; nor are they to presume to build " meeting-houses, or to use out-houses or barns. - It is our royal " will and pleasure, that Field-conventicles, and such as preach at "them, or who shall any way assist, or connive at them, shall be profecute, according to the utmost severity of the laws made against them, In like manner we tolerate quakers, &c. and by " the same absolute power, we suspend, stop and disable all laws, or " acts of parliament, customs or constitutions against any of our Roman-catholick subjects: -- fo that they shall, in all things, be as free, in all respects, as any protestant subjects whatsoever, not " only to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices, &c. which we shall think fit to bestow upon them, in all time coming, -do cass, annull and discharge all oaths whatsoever, "by which any of our subjects are—disabled from holding "places, &c. and all laws enjoyning the faid oaths,—and in place of them the following oath ONLY is to be taken. I A. B. do ac-" knowledge, testify, and declare, that JAMES VII. by the grace of "God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender. of the Faith, &c. is rightful King, and supreme Governor of these realms, and over all persons therein, and that it is unlawful for " subjects, on any pretence, or for any cause what soever, to rise in arms " against him, or any commissionated by him; and that I shall never " so rise in arms, nor assist any that shall so do; and that I shall never " resist his power, or authority, nor ever oppose his authority to his per-" Son, as I shall answer to God; but shall, to the utmost of my power, assist, defend and maintain bim, his heirs and lawful successors in the " exercise of their absolute power and authority against all deadly.

" And by our authority forefaid, --- we give our ample and full indemnity to all the foresaid forts of people, and think fit to declare, that—we will never fuffer violence to be offered to any " man's conscience, nor will we use force or invincible necessity, " against any man on the account of his persuasion, but will pro-" tect our Bishops in their functions, rights and properties, &c .-" and employ, indifferently, all our subjects of all persuasions,-

long as we find unity and charity maintained."

This proclamation, called the first indulgence, speaks for itself: Remarks. here the King not only fets himfelf above all laws, by claiming

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an unreserved obedience to his absolute power and authority; but requires all his subjects to swear to maintain him in it; but though he requires obedience without referve, yet he has a very evident reserve in his promises, to use no invincible necessity, to force his subjects to change their religion. In short, this was so glaring a subversion of the liberties of mankind, that it was disregarded by all, except most of the Councellors, who, having published the proclamation with all solemnity at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 18th, returned an answer to the King's letter on the 24th, acquainting him with their ready obedience to his commands, and their resolution to pursue the ends of his royal proclamation, and fignifying their approbation of papifts being put into places of truft. and thanking him for his royal word, for maintaining the protestant religion, as the best security they could have. This obsequious letter was figned by the Chancellor, the two Archbishops, and others; but the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Panmure and Dundonald, had the honour to refuse to subscribe it. Wherefore the King, in a letter of the 1st of March, ordered the two last of these noblemen to be put from the council-board, and declared, that though he was difpleased with the conduct of Duke Hamilton, yet he suspended his refentment for the present. In the same letter he charged them, to suffer no prefbyterians to preach without their allowance, and until they had taken the oath enjoined by proclamation; fo that the quakers and papists, if they took the faid oath, were the only persons, that had the benefit of his Majesty's favour at this time. I suppose the affirmation of the quakers would have been accepted. And thus matters stood till the end of March.

Campbel of Oab,

Mean while, on the 4th of March, the Lords of Justiciary passed fentence of death on Campbel of Oab, Campbel of Drumfunish, Campbel of Dalton and Campbel of Ulva, and ordered them to be executed, when apprehended. And on the 8th, they passed the like sentence on Lawmont of Meandrynan, Campbel of Aitarich, M'Fun of Invernydan, M'Collum of Reanlochtean, M'Fun of Dryp, and Campbel of Sonachan. All these for their accession to Argyle.

- Informatory windication published.

This month of March the informatory vindication (p. 450) of the focieties, written conjunctly, as the title bears, by Mr. Renwick and Mr. Shields, was agreed to. It was printed in Holland, and they took care to disperse as many copies of it as they could. It has been feveral times reprinted fince; and therefore refer the reader to it.

Second indulgence.

For reasons best known to the Court, the King, on the 31st of March, wrote another letter to the Council, called the fecond indulgence, with an appearance of mitigating some things in the former, in which he fays, " It is now our will and pleasure, and we do, \* the pref- " hereby, authorise and require you, to grant \* them, or any of them,

byterian preachers.

" our faid indulgence, without being obliged to take the oath, with " power unto them, to enjoy the benefit of the faid indulgence (during " our pleasure only) or so long as you shall find, they behave them-" felves regularly or peaceably, without giving any cause of offence " to us, or any in authority, or trust under us, in our government -." None of the presbyterian ministers accepted of this indulgence.

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Mr. Rapin, upon the first proclamation, says justly, The Council 1687. of Scotland blindly obeyed the King, not only by publishing his proclamation, but even by thanking him for it, as a fignal favour. Proceedand adds, This ought not to appear strange, because the Council ings of the wholly confisted of men intirely devoted to the King, nor was there Council nor any person, in publick office, who was not, or at least pretended not the sense of to be of the same principles. And a little further, It is not there- the nation. fore to the whole Scots nation, that this blind obedience is to be imputed, but to their governors, who were but a small part of the people; but if Mr. Rapin, who was but a stranger, had traced this matter to its true original, he would have landed it in prelacy; for it is well known, that the first parliament, after the restoration, vested the King with a power, to order all things relative to the external government and policy of the church.

The King, finding matters go fo well in Scotland, called a Coun- Liberty of cil in England, and declared his resolution, to iffue out a declara- conscience tion for a general liberty of conscience, to all persons of what per- in Engsuasion soever; and, among other things, said, "That it was his land.

" opinion, as most suitable to the principles of Christianity, that no "man should be persecuted for conscience sake; for he thought con"science could not be forced, and that it could never be the true in"terest of a King of England to endeavour to do it. Accordingly on the 4th of April, he caused his declaration for liberty of conscience to be published: only he took care to soften his expressions with respect to his absolute power; but this I leave to the English historians. Matters continued much on the same footing in Scotland, till July, when a most ample indulgence was published.

Mean while, in the month of April, 16 men and 5 women were banish- Twentyed to America, because they would not own the present authority to be one baaccording to the word of God, nor disown the Sangubar declara-nifhed. tion, nor engage not to hear Mr. Renwick. Their testimony against

the evils of the times is figned thus:

James Hamilton, James Douglass, John Brown, George White, Alex. Baily, Gil. M'Culloch, Thomas Brown, John Wight, John Russel, Will. Hanna, John Stuart, James Richart, John White, John Aitkin, Robert Mitchel, Will. Howie, Isabel Cassils, Agnes Keir, Isabel Steil, Margaret Weir, Bessie Weir.

On the 4th of May, a long process, against many country people Prisoners for their accession to Bothwel, commenced before the Lords of Just acquitted. ticiary, who, after all the pains that were taken, were obliged to acquit the prisoners for want of sufficient evidence. On the 7th of May, others were indicted for hearing Mr. Renwick, but the process,

for ought appears, came to nothing.

In this month Mr. Spreul, who had been a prisoner in the Bass for Mr. near fix years (p. 137, 138) gave in a petition to the Council, crav-Spreul requing to be fet at liberty. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, the leafed. Council made an act impowering Charles Maitland the governor of the Bass to release him, in regard of his Majesty's late proclamation, upon his finding bail to appear before them next June. Mr. Spreul fignified to the governor, that he did notchuse to accept of liberty upon any terms, that fignified his approbation of the faid proclamation, and therefore was continued in prison, till a letter came, requiring

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Process

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1687. the governor to fet open the doors to him, and tell him, he might go or stay, as hepleafed. Wherefore, after so long confinement, he came out, protesting against what he took to be wrong in the orders and proclamation, went to Edinburgh, waited on the councellors, thanked them for his liberty, and verbally renewed his protest against the faid proclamation and orders. Thus ended the troubles of this good

On the 30th of June, several were indicted for accession to Bothquel

but the process was dropt.

During these things, a process was carrying on against Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Sarum. He tells us, "That his continuing at the Hague made the King conclude, that he was managing defigns against him. Some papers printed in Holland, and dispersed through all parts of England, reflecting on the proceedings History of there, most of them wrote by the doctor, inflamed the King the more against him. But that which gave the crisis to the King's arger Times, p. was, that he heard of his going to be married to a confiderable fortune at the Hague. So a project was formed to break off the match, by charging him with high treason for conversing with Argyle and

other outlawed persons.

The King therefore ordered a letter to be writ, in his name, to the Advocate in Scotland, to profecute him for some probable thing or another; which was intended only to make a noise, not doubting but that would break the intended marriage. The doctor getting timely notice of this, petitioned the States to be naturalized, in order to his intended marriage; which being complied with, he wrote feveral letters, in his own vindication, to the Earl of Middleton, which the reader may fee in Mr. Wodrow's history, vol. II. p. 609, 610, 611. In the first of these, dated at the Hague, May the 3d, 1687, he said, that his being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance, during his flay there, was transferred from his Majesty to the sovereignty of these provinces, and that he would be sorry, if any judgment, that should pass in Scotland against him, should oblige him, in his own defence, to appear in print, and make a recital of the share he had in affairs, for twenty years past, and therein mention many particulars, that he was afraid must be displeasing to his Majesty. The doctor's first citation or indictment, dated April the 19th, had then reached him, containing his converse with Argyle, &c. as above; but when it did, he wrote his fecond letter to the Secretary, and, in a most distinct and particular manner, shewed the falshood of every thing laid to his charge; but his adversaries, willing to make a handle of every thing, the first citation was dropt, and another indictment was drawn up against him, founded upon his saying, that his allegiance was transferred from his Majesty to the States. He gave a most distinct answer to this, in a third letter to the Secretary; but no regard was paid to any thing he offered in his own justification, however just and equitable; fo that, at last, in the beginning of July, a sentence of outlawry was given against him, upon which Albewille faid, that if the States would not deliver him up, he would find fuch inftruments, as would carry him away by force.

It must be owned, that the doctor had shewn no small zeal against popery; and therefore as things were then, the reader cannot be furprized, though he was fingled out as one of the objects of the re-

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## Chap. 15. CHURCH of SCOTLAND

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sentments of a popish King and his complying courtiers. But to pro- 1687.

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At length, on the 5th of July, the Council received another pro- Third inclamation from the King for liberty of conscience, which they ordered dulgence, to be published with all due solemnities, and of which the tenor a procla-

JAMES II. &c.

WE now taking into our royal confideration, the finistrous interpretations, which either have, or may be made of " some restrictions (mentioned in the last) have thought fit, by this, -further to declare, that we protect our Archbishops, &c. in "the free exercise of THEIR protestant religion. — And we do "likewife, by our fovereign authority, prerogative royal, and abfolute power, suspend, stop and disable all penal and sanguinary laws, made against any, for nonconformity to the religion established " by law, in that our antient kingdom. - And to the end, that " by the liberty thereby granted, the peace and fecurity of our go-" vernment, in the practice thereof, may not be endangered, we -hereby strictly charge all our loving subjects, that, as we do " give them leave to meet and serve God after their own way, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely hired, or built for "that use; so that they take care, that nothing be preached or " taught, which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us, or our government, and that their meetings be peaceably and openly held, and all persons freely admitted to them, and that they do fignify and make known, to some one or " more of the next Privy-counsellors, sheriffs, &c. what place, or " places, they fet apart for these uses, with the names of the preachers,--and that no disturbance of any kind be made, or given them, under pain of our royal displeasure; --- provided always, that their meetings be in houses, or places appointed for the purpole, not in the open fields, for which now, after this our royal grace and favour (which furpasses the hopes, and equals the very wishes of the most zealously concerned) there is not the least " shadow of excuse left, which meetings in the fields we do hereby prohibit, against all which we do leave our laws and acts of parliament in full force and vigour, notwithstanding the premises; and do further command all our judges and magistrates, and offi-" cers of our forces, to profecute fuch, as shall be guilty of Field-" conventicles; -- for we are confident, none will, after this,prefume to meet in these assemblies, except such as make a pretence of religion, to cover their treasonable designs against our " royal person, and the peace of our government.-

This liberty was accepted by the generality of the presbyterian mi- Accepted nisters in the kingdom, for tho' they were perswaded, that it was not by presbygranted from any regard to them, or their adherents; but rather for terian miintroducing popery; yet they confidered, that they had a right to it, nisters. and that their right had been unjustly invaded for many years, and that it would have been a strange thing, if they should have been backward to preach and hear the gospel, when a door was opened Vol. II.

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for it, because some men had a design against the gospel in their opening it. Befides, if they had peevishly refused this liberty, that would never have hindred the papifts from reaping the benefit of it; but, on the contrary, would have strengthned popers, by putting themselves out of capacity to oppose it, and the papists would have had the fairest occasion imaginable, to mislead the people. And therefore they looked on themselves as bound to make the best use of it; because it brought, for the present, a great and singular relief to thousands, who had, for so many years, been groaning under heavy oppressions, and gave an opportunity to most of the minifters who had either retired, or been banished, to return to their country, as Mr. J. Veitch (p. 255) Mr. G. Campbel afterwards professor of divinity in the college of Edinburgh, Mr. P. Warner (p. 179, 180.) Mr. Alexander Pitcairn (p. 203) a person of singular abilities, Mr. James Kirktoun, Mr. Alexander Hastie, Mr. Thomas Hogg, Mr. John Harroway, Mr. Andrew Cameron, Mr. William Moncrief. Mr. Patrick Cowpar, and others.

their address of thanks. The presbyterian ministers, from different parts of the country, met at Edinburgh, about the 20th of July, and agreed to accept the benefit of this toleration; and, after some reasoning upon addressing the King, which several were averse to, a considerable number of

them agreed to the following address.

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the ministers of the May it please your Majesty, presbyterian persuasion, in your ancient kingdom of Scot-" land, from the deep fense we have of your Majesty's gracious and " furprizing favour, in not only putting a stop to our long sad suf-" ferings for nonconformity; but granting us the liberty of the pub-" lick and peaceable exercise of our ministerial function, without any " hazard; as we bless the great God, who hath put this into your " royal heart, do withal find ourselves bound in duty to offer our " most humble and hearty thanks to your facred Majesty, the fa-" vour bestowed being to us, and all the people of our perswasion, " valuable above all our earthly comforts, especially fince we have ground, from your Majesty, to believe, that our loyalty is not to " be question'd upon the account of our being presbyterians, who, " as we have, amidst all former temptations, endeavoured, so are " firmly resolved still to preserve an intire loyalty, in our doctrine " and practice (confonant to our known principles, which, accord-" ing to the holy scriptures, are contained in the Confession of Faith, " generally owned by presbyterians, in all your Majesty's dominions) " and, by the help of God, so to demean ourselves, as your Ma-" jefty may find cause rather to enlarge, than to diminish your fa-" vours towards us, thoroughly perfuading ourselves, from your Ma-" jefty's justice and goodness, that if we shall, at any time, be other-" wife represented, your Majesty will not give credit to such infor-" mation, until you take due cognition thereof; and humbly be-" feeching, that those who promote any disloyal principles and or practices (as we disown them) may be looked upon as none of " ours, whatfoever name they may affume to themselves.' May it " please your most excellent Majesty graciously to accept this our

## Chap. 15. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

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"most humble address, as proceeding from the plainness and sincerity of loyal and thankful hearts, much engaged by this your royal favour, to continue our fervent prayers to the King of kings, for divine illumination and conduct, with all other blessings spiritual and temporal, ever to attend your royal person and government; which is the greatest duty can be rendered to your Majesty by

"Your Majesty's
"Most Humble,
"Most Faithful,

" And Most Obedient Subjects.

"Subscribed in our name, and in the names of the rest of the bre-"thren of our persuasion, at their desire."

This meeting of ministers, says my author, was but an occasional meeting, wherein every one acted, as he saw good, and withdrew, when he was not satisfied, and was not by delegation from the rest in Scotland nor any Judicatory; and if that was the case, one would be apt to think they took too much upon them, in calling themselves the Ministers of the presbyterian persuasion in Scotland. Many of the presbyterian inhabitants of Edinburgh drew up, about this time, an address still more florid than that above.

The meeting of ministers at Edinburgh, having thus agreed to ad- A Synod dress the throne, laid down several rules, in order to make the best at Glasof the liberty now granted them. And looking upon themselves, as gow. now freed from bonds and fetters, they fet up, fays my author, not only worship, but also discipline and government; their Judicatories met, and every thing was done, as far as circumstances would per-And at a Synod, that met in a house at Glasgow, Mr. William Violant was chosen Moderator, and the care of students of divinity was committed to the revd. Mr. James Wodrow, under whom great numbers had their education, and became very ferviceable to the church of Christ in Scotland, and elsewhere. In short, the friends of liberty, by this toleration, had access to be together, and to strengthen one anothers hands. The Prince of Orange, on this occasion, had these words to the revd. Mr. Patrick Warner, before he returned to Scotland; " I understand, you are called home upon the " liberty granted there; but I can affure you, THAT liberty is not granted from any favour, or kindness to you, or your party, but " from favour to papists, and to divide you among yourselves; yet " I think, you may be fo wife, as to take the good of it, and pre-" vent the evil defigned, and, instead of dividing, come to a better " harmony among yourselves, when you have liberty to see one

"another, and meet freely together."

But Mr. Renwick and his followers paid no regard to this tolera-Mr. Rention, and were much offended with those who complied with it, wick, &c. and addressed the King on account of it; and indeed notwithstanding did not all this shew of clemency, they were as much exposed as ever. And comply as I have shewn the grounds, upon which the acceptors of the toleration went, I cannot but in justice shew likewise the principal reasons

why the others did not comply.

1. They confidered the granter, as a person with whom they could Their reanot communicate, in any transaction of this nature, being bound by sons.

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Hind let loose, p. 172, &c.

1687. his principles to keep no faith with bereticks, and having, in his practice, discovered, in several instances, his treachery and dissimula-tion. 2. They considered, that accepting a toleration from him, was a bargaining with an apostated, bigotted, excommunicated papist. and, as fuch, under the mediator's malediction, yea, and heir to his own grand-father's imprecations, who wished the curse of God to fall upon such of his posterity, as should, at any time, turn papists; and therefore they could not be at peace, affociate, or bargain with him. 3. They confidered, that they could not own him, in the relation of a magistrate, because they had not only renounced him, but, by the laws of the land, he was incapable of government, having neither given, nor could give, the oath and fecurity indispensibly required; whereas, did they accept of HIS toleration, they owned his magistratical authority. 4. They confidered this toleration, as flowing from his absolute power, a power, which all were to obey without reserve, which cannot be limited by laws, &c. and therefore they could not accept of it, without acknowledging a power inconfistent with the law of God and liberties of mankind. 5. They confidered, that they could not accept of this toleration without giving a virtual approbation of the dispensing with the penal laws against papists. 6. They confidered, that the proper tendency of it was to introduce a lawless loyalty, establish the King's tyranny, unite the hearts of protestants to papists, who are called their neighbours. 7. They confidered the effects already produced by it. Papifts were encouraged, their numbers increased, the executive power was put into their hands, &c. 8. They confidered the nature of this pretended liberty, as most dishonourable to the cause of Christ; for though nothing is more defireable, than when true liberty is established by the government, yet nothing can be more vile, than when the true religion is tolerated under the notion of a CRIME, and when the exercife of it is only allowed, under fuch and fuch restrictions. 9. They considered the extent of it, as taking in not only the Archbishops, Bishops, but all quakers and papists, and so opening a door to idolatry, blafphemy and herefy. 10. They confidered the terms, as what they could not comply with; especially, because they were forbid to speak any thing contrary to the well and peace of HIS reign, or which may, any way, tend to alienate the hearts of the people from him and his government, which they looked upon as a prohibition to preach against popery or prelacy. 11. They considered, that the acceptance of it was a scandal, and could not but offend the generation of the righteous. 12. They confidered the addresses of thanks made, on this occasion, as a train of fulsome and blasphemous flatteries, to the dishonour of God, the reproach of his cause, the betraying of the church, the detriment of the nation, and the exposing themselves to contempt. As to the address formerly mentioned, they fay, among other things, that there never was an address of this strain from presbyterian hands, seeing the contents of this address were so contrary to their known principles. Thus, say they, " It is contrary to presbyterian principles, to congratulate an " antichristian usurper, for undermining religion, and overturning 1 laws and liberties. It is contrary to presbyterian principles to juitify the abrogation of the national covenant, in giving thanks for " a li-

" a liberty, whereby all the laws are cassed and disabled, therein con-It is contrary to presbyterian principles, to thank the "King for opening a door to bring in popery, which they are engaged to extirpate by the SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVE-NANT, &c. &c." The reader may fee all these things enlarged at confiderable length in the treatife quoted on the margin. I shall make no remarks, but only acquaint him, That Mr. Renwick and Mr. Baxhis adherents were not the only persons, who were against King ter, &c. JAMES'S toleration; for though many of the protestant differences not conin England were pretty forward to congratulate the King for cerned in the English declaration, yet Mr. Coke says, that it was so drawn addressing. in the fight of every bird, that (of his knowledge) many of the sober thinking men did both dread and detest it. And Dr. Calamy tells us, that there was not many that could be charged [viz. with addressing] and that among the rest, Mr. Baxter had no concern in addressing, but set himself at Rutland-house in Charterhouse-yard, where he exercised his ministry in conjunction with Mr. Sylvester, to make a peaceable improvement of the liberty afforded, so as to do The like did his brethren in other places. all the good he could. But to proceed to other things.

On the 25th of July, John Anderson younger of Westertoun, was I. Anderindicted before the Justiciary for speaking in favour of defensive arms, son conand, being found guilty by the Jury, was condemned to die, only demned. the time and place were left to the King. Though it does not appear that the sentence was executed, yet nothing could be a clearer

evidence of cruelty than a fentence like this.

On the 5th of October, the Council published a proclamation against Procla-Field-conventicles, "declaring, that not only all fuch persons, whe-mation "ther preachers or hearers, that shall presume to be at any Conven-against "ticle in the open fields, but also all diffenting ministers, who shall Field-con-"take upon them to preach in houses, without observing such di-venticles. " rections, as are prescribed by our said late proclamation—shall " be profecuted with the utmost rigour and severity of the laws, &c." This proclamation was occasioned by the complaints which the Archbilhop of St. Andrews made of great meetings of people without doors in his diocefe, and by the Bishop of Glasgow's representing Mr. Renwick's frequent Field-conventicles in the West-country.

On the 14th, while the King's birth-day was observed at Glaf- Search. gow, with great demonstrations of joy, a narrow fearch was made in the town, and several were taken and brought to no small

trouble.

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Mr. Renwick still went on preaching, notwithstanding the hazzard Proclamahe ran from the perfecutors on the one hand, and the reproaches tion for wherewith he was loaded by many, even of presbyterians, on the other; apprehendbut these I shall intirely pass over, since the reader may have recourse ing Mr. to the history of his life written by Mr. Shields, who tells us, that, in less Renwick. than five months, after the toleration, there were fifteen most desperate learches, particularly for him, both of foot and horse; and that all encouragement might be given to any, who should apprehend him, a proclamation was iffued, dated October the 18th, " authorizing all officers, civil and military, to apprehend and fecure, in firmance, " his person, with some others; and, for encouragement, ensuring

I. Summer.

1687

Some time this month of October, John and Robert Summer two brothers, together with William Speir, all in the parish of Cambus. lang, were taken out of their beds and imprisoned at Glasgow, on suspicion of being at some Field-conventicle; and, after ten days confinement there, they fuffered a month's imprisonment at Edinburgh, and were brought to great charges, though nothing could be proved against them.

Fagel's letter.

On the 4th of November, Penfionary Fagel wrote from the Hague to Mr. Stuart, in answer to several letters, which that Gentlemen had wrote to him, in order to know the fentiments of the Prince and Princess of Orange, concerning the taking away the penal laws, in which he told him, "that it was the opinion of the Prince and Prin-" cefs, that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, " or be ill used, because he differs from the established religion, " and therefore they could consent, that the papifts in England, Scot-" land and Ireland, should have as much liberty, as is allowed them " in Holland. And as to protestant dissenters, they heartily approved " of their having an intire liberty, for the full exercise of their re-" ligion, without any trouble or hindrance: and that if his Majesty " defired their concurrence, in repealing the penal laws, their High-" nesses were ready to give it, provided that those laws still remained " in force, by which the Roman Catholicks were excluded out of both " houses of parliament, and out of all publick employments, eccle-" fiastical, civil and military, and likewise those other laws, which " confirm the protestant religion, and secure it against all the at-" tempts of the Roman Catholicks; but that they could not confent " to the repeal of the test, and the other laws, that tended to the se-" curity of the protestant religion, &c." And thus King JAMES and his ministers were exceedingly disappointed by this full declaration; for had they only got the opinion of the Prince and Princess according to their mind, they doubtless would have made a great handle of it.

I. Boyl

On the 7th of November, James Boyl was condemned to be execondemned. cuted at the Graffmarket on the 7th of December, for having been at Bothwel, and for hearing Mr. Renwick; but it don't appear the fentence was executed.

> There is nothing more that is material, that occurs during this year, in the beginning of which the foldiers continued their ravages, till fome regiments were called up to England; and among others that fuffered by them, the family of Mayfield was greatly oppressed.

> And as an evidence that the persecuting spirit still continued, Alexander Keir, sometimes Baily of Stranrawer, was imprisoned fometime this year for alledged irregular baptisms, as were William M'Tyre and Nathaniel Johnston for being present. But I now go on to

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## CHAP. XVI.

Market Berger 
Of the proceedings of the Justiciary; the execution of Mr. James Renwick; the acts and proclamations of Council, and other remarkable things to the ever memorable REVOLUTION, with some account of the proceedings of the Convention of Estates.

To is now with pleasure, I am come to the year 1688, which will ever be famous in the Annals of Great Britain, on account of the Glorious REVOLUTION brought about by divine Providence, by which these nations were rescued not only from oppressive tyranny, but also from a destructive storm of Popery, devastation and blood, that was just ready to break in upon them; and Scotland, in particular, was freed from the bloody hands of prelatists and their abettors.

1688.

The Romish priests, at this time, bestirred themselves to propagate Popish their faith, silled the country with their catechisms and manuels of schools at devotion. Popish schools were erected up and down England, and, Holyin a particular manner, at the abbey of Holyroodhouse, which was not rood-only contrary to law, but an open insult on the reformation. The house, better to gain their ends, the scholars were to be taught gratis; and it was pretended, that no regard was to be had to differences in religion, and no less title was given to this popish seminary than that of the Royal College.

Notwithstanding the toleration last year, all methods were taken to Presbyte-hinder many from reaping the benefit of it. When people hired rian mibarns, or other houses for places of worship, they were, upon some nisters pretence or another, greatly vexed and harrassed; and they, who brought to would not go to church, were brought to no small trouble, and trouble, quarrels were continually picked with presbyterians; so that, had it not been for the revolution, even this toleration had been rendered of no service. Mr. Alexander Auchmontie and Mr. Alexander Orrock were discharged from preaching any more at Dundee. The latter had once prayed, that the Lord would purge the King from heart idols; which words were misrepresented, as if Mr. Orrock had said, the King was an idolater. In a word, all occasions were sought against presentations.

The grand design of the Court was to establish popery on the ruins Thankfof the protestant interest; but here was the great bar in the way; the giving for apparent heirs of the crown were protestants, and all attempts to inthe duce them to change their religion, or even to approve the taking Queen's off the penal laws, had been in vain; and therefore a proclama-pregnancy. tion was published on the 2d of January 1688, to notify the Queen's being with child, and to order publick thanksgiving to God, on the 15th in the cities of London and Westminster, and on the 29th in all other places in England.

In

Form of prayer.
Calamy.

Scotland.

pressions, "Blessed be that good providence, which has vouchssed us fresh hopes of royal issue by our gracious Queen Mary. "Strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast beseen gun; command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents, that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the further establishment of his crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory

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"of thy great name."

The Privy Council of the priving in be observed as a thanks

The Privy Council of Scotland appointed the 29th of January to be observed as a thanksgiving for the diocese of Edinburgh, and the 19th of February for the rest of the kingdom. There were, however, very sew of the tolerated presbyterians, that paid any regard to this; and indeed there was no particular mention of them, in the

act enjoining this thankfgiving.

This, fays Mr. Neal, struck all the protestant part of the nation with consternation, except a few ranting tories, whose religion was at the service of the King, whenever he should please to call for it; and though the Jesuits looked upon the conception as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the Queen had made to the Lady of Loretto, and prophesied that it would certainly be a Prince, yet the protestants sighed in secret, and suspected a fraud; the grounds of which are related at large by the historians of these times.

Mr. David Williamfon.

On the 3d of February, Mr. David Williamson, who had a numerous congregation in the Westkirk parish, was, without any cause given, apprehended and kept a fortnight in prison at Edinburgh; and, in July, brought before the Council, at the malicious accusation of one Mushet, for not praying for the pretended Prince of Wales; but nothing could be made appear. Sir Patrick Nishet of Dean, who countenanced Mr. Williamson's ministry, was fined in 3001. sterling, for words Mushet declared, he had spoke disrepectfully of the government.

Mr. Renwick apprebended.

The order of time leads me now to relate the last part of the sufferings of Mr. RENWICK, who still continued preaching and catechifing. At last, with the concurrence of some others, he drew up a testimony against the toleration, and came in to Edinburgh and delivered it into the hands of Mr. Hugh Kennedy a minister of note. Then he went to Fife, where he continued preaching, till the last of January, when he returned, late at night, to Edinburgh, and lodged at a friend's house on the Castle-bill, who dealt in English goods. One Thomas Justice a customhouse-officer, getting notice of a stranger's being there, came next morning, with some other officers, on pretence of fearching for prohibited goods. Mr. Renzwick, upon hearing the noise, came out of his room. Justice, standing at the door, faid, My life for it, this is Mr. Renwick. Upon this, Mr. Renwick went to another door, and finding it guarded, discharged a pistol, by which he got out, and had it not been for a blow he received in the breast, he would have made his escape; but as he was running, he fell several times, and at last was taken and carried directly to the court of guard; from thence before a Committee of the Council, who ordered him to be laid in irons. Then he had an opportunity of spreading his case before God, and of praying for grace to enable 1688. him to bear, what he might be called to fuffer, and that his enemies

might be restrained from torturing his body.

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Before he received his indictment, he was taken to the Viscount examined of Tarbet's chamber, and there examined concerning his owning the at the authority of King JAMES VII. the cefs, and carrying arms at Field- Viscount meetings, and delivered himself with freedom and boldness to the Tarbet's, astonishment of all present. He was the first, that was examined concerning the cess. A pocket-book was found about him, in which were the notes of two fermons he had preached on these points, which he owned. There were also some capital letters in the same book, fuch as AS. MS. JW. AW. PR. PA. MM. at G. where a hat was left. The Committee was very urgent to know these names; and Mr. Renwick, partly to avoid torture, and partly because he could not make them more obnoxious than they were, ingenuously declared, that they were the names of Mr. Alexander Shields, Michael Shields, James Wilson, Archbald Wilson, Peter Rayning, Peter Aird, who were all out of their reach. He made some demur as to the last, till he was assured, that she should come to no trouble, and then he told that it was one Mrs. Miller at Glasgow. This openness greatly softened the rage of his enemies. Being asked what persuation he was of? he answered of the protestant presoyterian persuation, adhering to the OLD presbyterian principles, which were once generally professed by the church and nation from 1640 to 1660.

was faid, that " having shaken off the fear of God, and regard his indict-" to his Majesty's laws and authority, and having entered into the ment. " fociety of rebels of most damnable and pernicious principles, and difloyal practices, he had taken upon him to be a preacher to these " traitors, and had become so desperate a villain, as openly to preach " in the fields, declaiming against the King's authority, afferting that "he was an usurper, and that it was unlawful to pay cess, but law-" ful for subjects to rise in arms, and make war against him and "those commissioned by him; for which crimes he had been de-" nounced and intercommuned, and a reward of 1001. Sterling offer-" ed to any, that should apprehend him; but notwithstanding all "this, he still persisted in his obstinacy, keeping Conventicles in " the fields, and requiring his hearers to come armed to these ren-" dezvouses of rebellion. - And being apprehended within the "city of Edinburgh, he did desperately fire upon the officers, that " came to take him; and being brought before the Lord Chancel-" lor, did openly deny and decline the King's authority, afferting " him to be an usurper, and owning, that he had preached these

things, and had traiterously declared at the Viscount of Tarbet's, " that he could not, in conscience; acknowledge the King to be his " lawful Sovereign, and that the lineal fuccession did not give a right " to govern, and that it was unlawful to pay cefs, because it was " imposed for maintaining of forces to suppress the Gospel; and that " all, who paid the cefs, were involved in that guilt, and adhered to his " preaching book, declaring the fame to be his hand write." To

all which he was to answer on the 8th of February. To the indictment was added a lift of 45, out of which 15 were to be choien to Vol. II.

On the 3d of February, he received his indictment, in which it received

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1688. be the Jury, with a lift of the witnesses to be brought against him. for which I must refer the reader to the history of his life.

Interview with his mother, &c.

After receiving his indictment, his pious mother Elizabeth Carfan was permitted now and then to fee him. He frequently declared his grief on account of his leaving his flock; but on Sabbath Feb. 5, he declared that, if it was his choice, he could not without terror think of continuing much longer in his conflicts with a body of fin and death; and yet he durst not vary in the least from his testimony. In a letter Feb. 6. he defired that the persons, whose names he had decyphered might be acquainted with it, and concludes, I defire none may be troubled on my behalf, but rather rejoice with him, who, with hope and joy, is waiting for his marriage and coronation hour. Another time, his mother asked him, how he was! he answered, he was well; but that, fince his last examination, he could hardly pray. At which, when she seemed to be surprized, he added, I can hardly pray, being so much taken up with praising, and ravished with the joy of the Lord. When she further expressed her fears, saying, how shall I look to that head and these hands set up among the rest upon the ports of the city? I have so much of Self, that I shall never be able to en-dure it. He smiled, telling her, that she should not see that; for, faid he, I have offered my life to the Lord, and have fought, that he may bind them up, that they may do no more; and I am persuaded, that they shall not be permitted to torture my body, nor touch one bair of my bead further. He was always afraid of torture; but now his fears Some other of friends were allowed to vifit him, were all over. whom he exhorted to make fure their peace with God, and to study stedfastness in his ways: and when they were regretting their loss of

him, he faid, that they had more reason to bless the Lord, that he should now be taken away from these reproaches, which had broken his heart, which could not otherwise be wiped off, even though he should get his life without yielding in the least. He told them also, that, when he was first taken, and brought before the Council, he intended to wave them, and not be positive in his answers; but that he was so filled with darkness of spirit, that he durst not continue in these resolutions, but found himself obliged to be plain and free, as he had always

before the

been in his fermons, in which he had found great peace. On Wednesday the 8th of February, he appeared before the Justi-Justiciary. ciary, and when his indictment was read, the Justice-clerk asked him, if he adhered to his former confession, and acknowledged all that was in his libel. He answered, "All, except where it is said, " I have cast off all fear of God; that I deny; for it is, because I " fear to offend God, and violate his law, that I am here standing " ready to be condemned." Then he was interrogated, If he owned authority, and King JAMES VII. to be his lawful Sovereign? He replied, "I own all authority, that hath its prescriptions and limita-" tions from the word of God; but, cannot own this usurper as law-" ful King; feeing, both by the word of God, fuch a one is inca-" pable to bear rule; and likewise by the ancient laws of the king-"dom, which admit none to the crown of Scotland, until he swear " to defend the protestant religion, which a man of his profession " could not do." They urged, could he deny him to be King? Was he not the late King's brother? Had the late King any children lawfully 4

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lawfully begotten? Was he not declared to be successor by act of 1688. parliament? He answered, "He was, no question, King de facto, but, not de jure; that he was brother to the other, he knew nothing to " the contrary. What children the other had, he did not know; but " from the word of God, that ought to be the rule of all laws, or " from the ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be shewn, that he had, or ever could have, any right." Then they asked, if he owned and had taught it to be unlawful, to pay ceffes and taxes to his Majesty. He replied, " For the present cess, exacted for the " present usurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is " oppressive to the subjects, for the maintenance of tyranny, and "because it is imposed for suppressing the Gospel. Would it have " been thought lawful for the Jews, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, " to have brought every one a coal to augment the flame of the " furnace, to devour the three children, if so they had been required " by that tyrant? And how can it be lawful, either to oppress poor " people for not bowing to the idols, the King fets up, or for their "brethren, to contribute to what may help forward their oppression?" Next, they enquired, if he owned that he had taught his hearers, to come armed to their meetings, and, in case of opposition, to result? He answered, "It were inconsistent with reason and religion both, " to do otherwise. Yourselves would do it in the like circumstances. " I own, that I taught them to carry arms to defend themselves, and to " resist your unjust violence." Further they asked, if he owned the notebook with the two fermons in it, and that had he preached them? He faid, " If you have added nothing, I will own it, and am ready to " feal all the truths contained therein with my blood." All his confessions being read over, he was required to subscribe them. He faid he could not do it, fince he looked upon that as a partial owning of their authority. After several times refusing, he said, with protestation, "I will subscribe the paper, as it is my testimony; but " not in obedience to you."

Next, those of the Jury were called in by fives and sworn, against condemn-whom he made no objection, but protested, "that none might sit on ed." his assize, that professed protestant or presbyterian principles, or an "adherence to the covenanted work of reformation." He was brought in guilty, and sentence was passed, that he should be executed, in the Grassmarket, on the friday following. Lord Linlithgow Justice-general, asked, if he desired longer time. He answered, that it was all one to him; if it was protracted, it was welcome; if it was shortened, it was welcome; his master's time was the best. So

he was returned to prison.

Though none, who suffered in the former part of this dismal pe-Lenity of riod, spoke with greater freedom and openness than Mr. Renwick, yet the Justinone were treated with so much moderation. The lenity of the Justiniary was much admired, beyond their ordinary; for they admitted him to say what he pleased, without threatnings or interruptions, even though he gave none of them the title of Lord but Linlithgow, who was a nobleman by birth.

It is further remarkable, that, without his knowledge, and against Mr. Renhis will, nay, after his open refusing to the Advocate to desire it, he wick rewas reprieved till the 17th day, which gave occasion to several to prieved.

renew their reproaches.

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Though Mr. Remwick's friends (which was not usual after fentence) were denied access, yet both papists, episcopalians and others were permitted to fee him. Bishop Paterson often visited him; nay, Bishop Pa- he fought another reprieve for him, which would easily have been granted, had he only petitioned for it. The Bishop asked him, "Think you, none can be saved but those of your principles? Will "you kill yourself with your own hands, seeing you may have your life upon so easy terms?" He answered, "I never said, nor "thought, that none could be faved, except they were of those " principles; but these are truths which I suffer for, and which I " have not rashly concluded on, but deliberately, and of a long time " have been confirmed, that they are sufficient points to suffer for." The Bishop took his leave, declaring his forrow for his being so tenacious, and commended him for a youth of parts. The night before he fuffered, he fignified his readiness to serve him to the utmost of his power. Mr. Renwick thanked him for his civility; but knew nothing he could do, or that he could defire. Mr. M. Naught one of the curates, made him a visit in his canonical habit, which Mr. Renwick did not like. The curate, among other things, asked his opinion concerning the toleration, and those that accepted it. Mr. Renavick declared, that he was against the toleration; but as for the men that embraced it, he judged them to be godly men. Sir John Dalrymple the Advocate, several popish priests, and some of the Gentlemen of the guard, together with some of the tolerated minifters, were permitted to converse with him. The priests, at leaving him, were overheard faying, that he was a most obstinate heretick. All the time he was in prison after his sentence, he was kept so close, that he could get nothing wrote. His begun testimony, which he was writing, was taken from him, and pen, ink and paper refused. However, he got a short paper wrote the night before he suffered, which is in the Cloud of Witnesses.

On Tuesday the 14th, he was brought before the Council on account of the informatory vindication (p. 462) but what passed there, cannot be learned, further than their fignifying how much kindness they had shewn him, in that they had reprieved him without his supplication, a thing never done before. He returned with extraordinary chearfulness, rejoycing that he was counted worthy, to suffer shame

for the name of his master.

He was much in observing the goodness of God in restraining the perfecutors from putting him to torture. Being asked, what he thought God would do with the remnant left behind him, he anfwered, " It shall be well with them; for God will not forsake nor

" cast off his inheritance."

bis interview with the jailor.

On the day of his execution, the chief jailor begged, that, at the place of his execution, he would not mention the cause of his death, and would forbear all reflections. Mr. Renwick told him, that what God would give him to speak, that he would speak, and nothing else, and nothing lefs. The jailor told him, he might still have his life, if he would but fign that petition, which he offered him. He anfwered, "that he never read in scripture, or history, where mar-"tyrs petitioned for their lives, when called to fuffer for truth; though they might require them not to take their life, and " remou-

" remonstrate against the wickedness of murdering them; but in the 1688. " present circumstances, he judged it would be found a receding

" from the truth, and declining a testimony for Christ."

At last, his mother and fisters had liberty to see him. He took a with bis refreshment with them, and, in returning thanks, said, "O Lord, mother and " now thou hast brought me within two hours of eternity, and this sisters. " is no matter of terror to me, more than if I were to lie down in a " bed of roses; nay, through grace, to thy praise I may say, I had " never the fear of death, fince I came to this prison; but from the " place I was taken, I could have gone very composedly to the " scaffold. O! how can I contain the thoughts of this, to be within " two hours of the crown of glory." He exhorted them much to prepare for death, expressing his own joyful assurance of endless glory; and perceiving his mother weep, he exhorted her to remember, "that they who loved any thing better that Christ, were not " worthy of him. If ye love me, rejoice that I am going to my fa-" ther to obtain the enjoyment of what eye hath not feen, ear hath " not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive." Then he went to prayer, wherein he run out much into praises, and pleaded, in behalf of the fuffering remnant, that the Lord would raife up witnesses, that might transmit the testimony to succeeding generations, and that the Lord would not leave Scotland; afferting, with great confidence of hope, that he was strengthned in the faith of it, that the Lord would be gracious to Scotland.

When the drum beat, he fell into a transport, faying, "Yonder His beha-" the welcome warning to my marriage, the bridegroom is coming, viour in "I am ready, I am ready." Then, after having, in a moving way, the low parted with his mother and fifter, he was taken, as usual, to the low Council-Council-house, where they defired he would speak what he had to bouse, fay there. He told them, I have nothing to fay to you, but that which is written, Fer. xxvi. 14, 15. As for me, behold, I am in your band, &c. He was told, that the drums would beat at the scaffold all the time, and therefore they advised him to pray there, which he refused, and declared, that he would not be limited in what he would fay; that he had premeditated nothing, but would speak what was given him. They offered him any minister to be with him: but he

chose to be attended by one friend who was then in company.

He went to the place of execution with great chearfulness, in the and on the midst of an innumerable multitude, which was the greater, that exe- scaffold. cutions had not been so frequent of late. There was a curate near the fcaffold, who tempted him, faying, Mr. Renwick, own our KING, and we shall pray for you. He replied, that he wanted none of his prayers, fince he was come to bear his testimony against him, and fuch as he was. The curate said, own our KING and pray for bim, whatever you fay against us. His answer was, I will discourse no more with you. I am, within a little, to appear before him who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who will shortly pour shame, contempt and confusion on all the Kings of the earth, who have not ruled for him. He then fang Pfal. ciii. read Rev. xix. and then prayed, recommending his foul to God through the Redeemer, and his cause to be vindicated in his own time. He declared that this was the most joyful day he ever saw, a day he had

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1688. greatly longed for, and bleffed the Lord, who had honoured him with the crown of martyrdom, an honour which the Angels are not capable of. He complained of his being disturbed in worshipping God; but, faid he, "I shall be above those clouds; then shall I " enjoy thee and glorify thee without interruption or intermission " for ever." Prayer being ended, he spoke to the people, and what was remembred is as follows:

His last Speech.

" CPECTATORS (or if there be any of you) auditors, I must tell you, I am come here this day to lay down my life, for " adhering to the truths of Christ, for which I am neither afraid, nor " ashamed to suffer; nay, I bless the Lord, that ever counted me " worthy, or enabled me, to fuffer any thing for him; and I defire " to praise his grace, that he hath not only kept me free from the gross pollutions of the time, but also from the many ordinary pol-" lutions of children; and for fuch as I have been stained with, he " hath washed and cleansed me from them in his own blood. I am " this day to lay down my life for these three things. 1. For disown-" ing the usurpation and tyranny of JAMES Duke of York. 2. For " preaching, that it was unlawful to pay the cefs, expresly exacted " for bearing down of the gospel. 3. For teaching, that it was law-" ful for people to carry arms for defending themselves, in their meet-" ings for the persecuted gospel-ordinances. I think a testimony for "these is worth many lives; and if I had ten thousand, I would " think it little enough to lay them all down for the fame.

" Dear friends, spectators, if any of you be auditors, I must tell " you, I die a presbyterian protestant. I own the word of God, as " the rule of faith and manners. I own the Confession of Faith, Larger " and Shorter Catechisms, sum of saving knowledge, directory for " publick and family worship, COVENANTS national and Solemn " League, ads of General Affemblies, and all the faithful contendings, " that have been for the covenanted reformation. I leave my testi-" mony approving the preaching in the fields, and the defending the " fame by arms. I adjoin my testimony to all those truths, that have " been fealed by bloodshed, either on scaffolds, fields, or seas, for " the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against popery, prelacy, " erastianism, &c. against all profanity, and every thing contrary to " found doctrine and the power of Godlinss; particularly, against all " usurpations and encroachments made upon Christ's rights, the " Prince of the Kings of the earth, who alone must bear the glory of " ruling his own kingdom, the church; and, in particular, against

" this absolute power, usurped by this usurper, that belongs to no mor-" tal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of JEHOVAH, and " against his toleration flowing from this absolute power."

Here he was ordered to have done. He answered, I have near done, and then faid, "Ye that are the people of God, do not weary " to maintain the testimony of the day, in your stations and places; " and whatever ye do, make fure an interest in Christ; for there is " a ftorm coming, that shall try your foundation. Scotland must be "rid of Scotland, before the delivery come. And you that are "ftrangers to God, break off your fins by repentance, else I will be " a fad witness against you, in the day of the Lord.

Here

Here they stopt him, and made him go up the ladder, where he 1688. prayed; and this expression was distinctly heard, "Lord, I die in " the faith, that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt His execu-" make the blood of thy witnesses to be the feed of thy church, and tion. " return again and be glorious in our land. And now, Lord, I am " ready, the bride, the Lamb's wife, hath made her felf ready." When the napkin was tying round his face, he faid to his attending friend, "Farewel, be diligent in duty, make your peace with God "through Christ; there is a great trial coming. As to the remnant "I leave, I have committed them to God. Tell them from me, " not to weary, nor be discouraged, in maintaining the testimony. " Let them not quit, or forgo one of these despised truths. Keep " your ground, and the Lord will provide you teachers and minif-" ters. And when he comes, he will make these despised truths " glorious in the earth." Then he was turned over with these words in his mouth, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of truth!

Thus died Mr. James Renwick, the last that sealed the testimony for religion and liberty, and the covenanted work of reformation against popery, prelacy, erastianism and tyranny, in this persecuting period, a young man and minister, being just turned his 26th year,

but a ripe Christian and a martyr of Christ.

After his death, the revd. Mr. Alexander Shields succeeded and Mt. Al. preached in the fields; and in April had a very numerous field-meet-Shields. ing upon Distinkcorn-hill, which occasioned many searches to be made, by the foldiers, for those who were present. return.

On the 13th of February, the revd. Mr. John Hardy minister at Mr. Har-Gordon was tried before the Justiciary for high treason; but the pro- dy prosecess was dropt. The great crime was, his preaching against popery, cuted. and warning his hearers of the danger, they and the whole nation were

This was constructed to be high treason.

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On the 17th, Sir George Mackenzie was restored to his place of be- Sir G. ing Lord Advocate, and Sir John Dalrymple was made Justice-clerk, M'Kenand a Lord of Seffion. In March some country people were brought zie rein prisoners, and examined by Sir George, about owning the King's stored. authority; but though they owned it only with limitations, yet the new Advocate was more easy with them than he had been with others in former years. But to proceed to things of a more publick concern.

On the 27th of April, King James issued out another declaration Liberty of for liberty of conscience in England, which the reader may see in the conscience English historians. This declaration, fays Dr. Welwood, was of a for Engmuch higher strain than the former, and in it the Roman Catholicks land, p. were chiefly included; and indeed it was for their fake alone, it was 182. granted. However, the King, not being fatisfied with having this published in the usual method, emitted an order of Council, enjoining the Bishops to cause it to be sent and distributed throughout their leveral and respective dioceses, to be read at the usual time of divine service, in all churches and chapels. Though " some of the Bishops, Bishops says Burnet, carried their compliance to a shameful pitch," the ge fent to the nerality of the clergy refused to obey so unjust a command, and seven Tower.

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1688.

of them, on account of a petition they presented to his Majesty, praying, that he would not insist upon their distributing and reading the said declaration, were committed to the Tower; where we must leave them for some time.

Fourth indulgence. Mean while, that matters might correspond in Scotland with those in England, on the 15th of May, a new proclamation was published there, called the 4th indulgence, in which he pleads several acts of Parliament, especially the 2d act of his Parliament there (p. 372, 373) for acting by virtue of absolute power; so that he pretended to law, in dispensing with the standing laws of the nation. Then he repeats his former proclamations, and signifies that he has dissolved all Judicatories and magistrates in royal burghs, and declares, that he will maintain all his former proclamations, and threatens those, who would not comply with his measures.

Mr. Cobham's sufferings.

But notwithstanding all this pretended liberty of conscience, yet, in many places, all methods were taken to hinder presbyterian ministers from reaping the benefit of it, as appears not only from some infrances already given, but also from the case of the revd. Mr. Thomas Cobham, who was born in Dundee, and came thither on the 23d of May to see his friends. He performed family worship at his coufin's, for which he was brought before one of the magistrates, on pretence of his keeping a Conventicle: but was prefently bailed, else he must have gone to prison. Next day, the information being found false, his bail-bond was given up, and he gave in his name to the magistrates, and preached the Sabbath following; but the Saturday after, he was called, at ten at night, before some of the magistrates, and ordered to find bail, though they had nothing to lay to his charge; and because his friend Mr. Smith took upon him to speak in his favour, and remonstrate against this illegal proceeding, he was fent along with him to prison. Though Mr. Smith was let out, yet Mr. Cobbam was kept a prisoner till July, when he was sent to Edinburgh, where, after some further confinement, he was released by the Council, they finding nothing against him.

Birth of the Pretender.

On the 10th of June, while the Bishops were in the Tower, and the Princess Anne at the Bath, the Queen was said to be delivered of a Prince of Wales; but there were so many circumstances, that rendered this birth suspicious, that the nation in general looked upon it as an imposture, and as the last effort of the papists to ruin the reformation in these lands. The illustrious Prince of Orange, in his declaration for Scotland, speaks of this in the following terms: "But to crown all, there are great and violent presumptions, inducing us

Prince of Orange's fentiments of it.

to believe, that those evil counsellors, in order to their carrying on of their ill designs, and to the gaining to themselves more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their accomplices, and the discouraging of all good subjects, have published, that the Queen hath brought forth a son; though there have appeared, both during the Queen's pretended bigness, and in the manner, in which the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only we ourselves, but all the good

" subjects of those kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen. And it is no-

" toriously known to all the world, that many both doubted of the Queen's

" Queen's bigness, and of the birth of the child, and yet there was 1688. " not one thing done to fatisfy them, or put an end to their " doubts."

On the 14th, the Council of Scotland, considering, that, " it hav- A thanks-" ing pleased the Almighty God, by whom King's reign, to bless giving for "his Sacred Majesty our august and glorious Monarch, and in him the Preus, his dutiful and happy subjects, with the birth of the most setender's

" rene and high-born Prince, the Prince and Stewart of Scotland, &c. birth.

" by his royal Confort our gracious Queen Mary, --- " made an act, appointing the zet of June for the diocese of Edinburgh, and the 28th for the rest of the kingdom, to be observed as days of solemn thankfgiving. The day was observed at Edinburgh with all solemnity.

About the 20th of June, they of the united societies having been Mr. Houfinformed, that Mr. David Houftoun, who had joined with Mr. Ren- ton refeuwick (p. 458) had been apprehended, a good number of them af ed. sembled in arms, attacked the foldiers, who were carrying him to Edinburgh; and, after killing some, and wounding others, rescued the prisoner; and if they had not, it is very probable, he would have fuffered, as Mr. Renavick had done. The focieties afterwards having informations against him, turned him out of their societies.

The news of this rescue coming to Edinburgh, the Council is- Proclamafued a proclamation on the 22d, ordering the nobility, freeholders, tion. heritors and indulged ministers, in the shires of Air, Lanerk, Renfrew, and Nithsdale, to be affembled on the 29th instant, and those of Wigtoun. on the 6th of July, in order to find out those concerned in the faid rescue; but, after all the enquiry that could be made, few or none concerned were found out, though the country was brought to no fmall trouble on account of those meetings.

Some time in June, John Reid a trooper, once belonging to G. Wood Craigie's troop, finding one George Wood, a youth of about 16 years shot in the

of age, shot him on the place. When Reid was challenged for this, fields. he said, he knew him to be a Whig, and these ought to be shot,

wherever they were found.

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In June or July, Claverbouse and Colonel Douglas made a most Search. violent search in Edinburgh. Every private soldier had power to examine, upon oath, all suspected persons, and whoever resused to re-

nounce the covenants, were forced to prison.

The followers of the late Mr. Renwick still kept up their Societies. General Accordingly, at a general meeting on the first of August, they collect- meeting. ed near 240 l. sterl. in order to ransom several of their brethren, who were fold for flaves to Barbadoes. Accordingly, James Douglas, Thomas Brown, John Buchannan, Alexander Baily, George Paton, John White, Gilbert M'Culloch, R. Mitchel, John White, George White, Agnes Keir, James Baxter, and another, were, in consequence of this, actually relieved. But it is proper to take a short view of what was transacting at this time in England.

The affurance of a popish successor filled the King with hopes of The seven accomplishing his designs, and, in order to get a Parliament to his Bishops mind, closetting was once more put in practice, promises and threat-brought to nings were made use of, some intire regiments were ordered from their trial, Ireland, and many vacancies in the English regiments were filled Rapin. up with Irish and popish officers; and, during the publick rejoycings

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1688. for the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Ely, Chichester, Peterborough, and Bristol, were brought to their trials at the King's-Bench-bar on the 15th of June; but upon a motion for a delay, the matter was put off till the 29th; and, in the mean time. they were fet at liberty upon their recognizance. On the faid 29th, Westminster-ball was crouded with great numbers of Lords, Gentlemen and others. The Bishops were tried, and the trial lasted ten hours; then the Jury withdrew, and, after fitting up all night, brought Acquitted. in their verdict, next morning, NOT GUILTY.

Acclamations of joy. Hift. of 739.

Upon this, the Marquis of Hallifax waving his hat over his head. cried, Huzzah! The Lords and Gentlemen took the shout from him. It in an instant filled the whole hall with the loudest acclamations of joy, which were immediately taken by the crouds waiting Stuarts, p. in Palace-yard, and in Westminster, from whence it was carried through the city of London and places adjacent, and, as fast as it could fly, over the whole kingdom. The foldiers encamped on Hounflow-beath gave such an universal shout, that it startled the King, then at an entertainment in the Earl of Feversham's tent, whom he fent to know what was the matter. Feversham coming back, told the King, it was nothing, but the foldiers shouting upon the news of the Bishops being A QCUITTED. The King stamped with his foot, and faid, Do you call that NOTHING? But so much the worse for them. A protestant roar (p. 267) like this could not be agreeable to his Majesty.

Application made to the Prince of Orange, Rapin.

All true protestants, being now convinced that they were on the very brink of ruin, had no other expedient but to apply to the Prince of Orange. Accordingly, several great men, upon fundry pretences, both from England and Scotland, repaired to the Hague to confer with his Highness; and in July, one Flight brought over to England about 80 letters from persons of quality and credit, and carried back answers to the Hague. Many of the Bishops and Clergy of England began now to forget the principles of passive-obedience and non-The Prince readily embarqued in the quarrel, and the States chearfully agreed to give their assistance; for they were equally concerned in the affair with the English themselves, because the ruin of Holland would doubtless have soon followed the slavery of Great Britain.

Proclamation against probibited books. Wodrow.

While matters were thus concerting for rescuing the nation from popery and flavery, the managers in Scotland did what they could to oppose them. Accordingly, on the 15th of August, the Council published a proclamation against the following books and pamphlets, viz. all translations of Buchannan de jure regni, Lex Rex, Jus populi, Naphtali, the Cup of Cold Water, the Scots Mist, the Apologetical Relation, Mene Tekel, the Hind let loose, the treasonable proclamations issued out at Sangubar, and those issued out by the late Duke of Monmouth, and the late Earl of Argyle. All were ordered to bring in these books by a limited time, under severe penalties. At Edinburgh, several went in the Council's name, through the booksellers shops, and not only seized these, but also whatever books were wrote against popery, alledging, that the vending of these tended to allienate the people's minds from his Majesty. Either the Advocate, or some other other of the Counsellors, went to the shop of a firm whig, and asked 1688. him, if he had any prohibited books. The bookseller desired him to fearch; which having done, and found nothing, he asked him, if he had any books against popery; he answered, he had a great many. The Counfellor told him, that was the King's religion, and that subjects ought not be alienated from him on that account, and defired to fee them. Upon which the bookfellor directed him to the place, where his Bibles lay, and taking up one after another, faid, These are BIBLES. They are so, said the other, and from the one end to the other are all against POPERY. This was reckoned such a high crime, that the bookfeller, in the afternoon, was fummoned before Council, and brought to fome trouble.

The preparations making in Holland being by this time pretty K. James much talked of, and the King receiving repeated advices of them, he amuses the judged it convenient to flatter the people with the expectation of a publick, Accordingly, on the 24th of August he declared, in Rapin. Parliament. Council, his intention to call a Parliament for the 27th of November; and the Chancellor had orders to iffue forth writs on the 5th of September. But that was not done, the King only defigning to amuse the publick. In the mean time, the Marquis of Albevill, at the King's command, presented a memorial to the States, to demand what they meant by their warlike preparations at this time; to which they gave such an answer, as made James begin to think of taking

such measures, as were necessary for his own defence.

The Council in Scotland, being composed of men hearty in his Proclamaservice, on the 18th of September published a proclamation, for ren-tion for devouzing the militia in several shires, setting up of beacons in se-rendeveral places to give notice, when any number of ships were seen on vouzing the coasts, and for ordering the heritors, liferenters and others, to be the miliready, with their best horses and arms, to attend the King's host when tia, &c. defired.

Though the King had promifed to iffue out writs for a new Par- An ambiliament, yet he was not fo good as his word; however, he still con- guous protinued to amuse the people with the hopes of it. Accordingly, on the clamation. 21st of September, he emitted a proclamation, wherein "he thought " fit to declare, that it was his royal purpose to endeavour a legal " establishment of an universal liberty of conscience, for all his subjects, as was also his resolution inviolably to preserve the Church of " England, by such a confirmation of the several acts of uniformity, " that they should never be altered, any other ways, than by repealing the feveral clauses, which inflict penalties upon persons " not promoted, or to be promoted, to any ecclesicstical benefices " within the meaning of the faid acts .-- And that for the further " fecuring not only the church of England, but the protestant religion in general, he was willing the Roman Catholicks should remain incapable to be members of the house of commons.-

But this proclamation was too obscure and ambiguous, to produce Remarks. any great effect; for his repealing the penal laws, and, at the same time, preserving the acts of uniformity, implied a contradiction. Beides, the King only spoke of excluding papists from the House of

Commons, but not from the House of LORDS.

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1688. King turns pale. Hift. of Stuarts,

P. 750. Applies to the Bi-

Pops.

At last, the King had unquestionable assurances that the preparations making in Holland were against him, upon which he turned bale, and, for a while, remained speechless; and, says a modern historian, may not one now imagine the injured ghosts of Russel, Sidney, Baily, Cornish, and the hecatombs in the West, and in Scotland, haunted his dreams, amidst the extremity of his distress and dispair, Gc?

In this fright, he applied to the Bifliops, then in town, for advice. They defired time to confult what was proper to be done, in such circumstances. Mean while, on the 28th, he issued a proclamation. fetting forth the advices he received of the Prince's intended invafion, to conquer these kingdoms and subdue them to a foreign power, which obliged him to recal his writs for electing members of parlia-A most unaccountable step! for had he known his own interest, he should rather have hastened the meeting of his parliament.

Published an indemnity.

About this time, he published his indemnity, out of which were excepted Mr. Andrew Fletcher, Colonel Rum/ey, Titus Oates, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, &c. This pardon, it is said, was drawn up by Jeffries; and, in the mean, by feveral clauses, it excepted the whole nation; but none regarded it; for the thunders of Whitehall were no more minded now than those of the Vatican.

Advice of the Bi-Phops.

On the 3d of October, the Bishops advised the King, "to put the " management of the government into the hands of qualified per-" fons, to annul the ecclesiastical commission, to set aside all faculties " and licenses for papists to keep schools, to desist from his dispensing " power, to inhibit the four pretended vicars apostolical, invading the ecclesistical jurisdiction, to fill up the vacant bishopricks, " to restore the charters, to call a free and regular Parliament; and, " above all, that his Majesty would be pleased to permit his Bishops " to offer such motives and arguments, as, they trusted, might, by God's "Grace, be effectual to persuade his Majesty to return to the COM"MUNION of the Church of England.

Proceedings in Scotland. Wodrow.

The same day the Bishops gave the King this good advice, the Scots Council fent up an offer of their lives and fortunes, and asked advice how to behave on this occasion; for which they had the royal thanks, and were defired to imprison all suspected persons; and since he had ordered the regular forces there to repair to England, he left it to them to raise such as they should think sit, and to augment the garisons, and to do all other things as they should judge convenient. The same day, the Council ordered all the heritors to get ready their best horses and men, and to affemble them at the time and in the places appointed in the proclamation; and on the 19th, made an act concerning the deferters from the militia, which I shall not trouble the reader with.

Sufferings of Mr. Charles Gordon.

About this time, the revd. Mr. Charles Gordon was brought to no small danger, for not owning the legitimacy of the pretended Prince of Wales. This Mr. Gordon was then Minister at Campuere in Zealand, and after the revolution, minister first at Dalmenie, and after that at Ashkirk, a Gentleman of unaffected piety and solid learning. He came to Scotland in August to see his friends in the North. repaired to Edinburgh in his way to Campvere in September. In the beginning beginning of October, when there was great noise about the Prince 1688. of Orange's intended expedition, the Council emitted a proclamation, discharging all subjects to leave the kingdom without a license from the Council or one of their number. Mr. Gordon therefore applied, by a friend, to the Register for a pass. The Register engaged to use his interest with Lord Perth the Chancellor, and, on the 12th of October, defired Mr. Gordon to attend in the Parliament Close. When attending there, the Register came out, and told him, that he had quite forgot his affair, but promised to mind it, when he met with the Chancellor at three o'clock in the treasury. - Mean while Mr. Gordon went to the Castle, and got the Duke of Gordon to use his interest likewise. Both the Duke and the Register spoke to the Chancellor. Mr. Gordon, all of a sudden, was called in, and examined before the Lords of the Treasury, and, among other things, he was interrogated, as follows: Chancellor, Do you own the King's authority? Gordon, Yes, my Lord. Ch. Have you preached fince you came to the country? G. Yes. Ch. Do you pray for the Prince of Wales? G. No. Ch. Why not for the Prince of Wales? G. There is no particular order for praying for him, and I have not used to pray for all the particular branches of the royal family by form. Ch. It is no limiting the Spirit to pray for all the branches of the royal family by form. G. My Lord, I have not been used to pray by forms. Ch. Whom do you mean when you pray for the royal family? G. All the Princes and Princesses of the family. Ch. Do you not include and intend the Prince of Wales? G. My Lord, I do not exclude him. Ch. But do you not include him? Mr. Gordon was filent, and the Chancellor proceeded faying, There is the matter; Sir, I perceive, I have not been mistaken nor misinformed concerning you, what for a man you are. G. I am forry, if your Lordship apprehend ill concerning me. Cb. Do you not think that the King hath a fon, or that the Prince of Wales is heir to the crown? Mr. Gordon was filent. Cb. Why do you not anfwer? Do you doubt of fuch a thing? G. My Lord, I do not meddle in these matters, nor am I a competent judge of them. After a few more Questions, Mr. Gordon was dismissed, and in an hour called in again, and required to fign the following paper. "Mr. Charles Gordon, Minister of the Gospel at Campvere, do own "and acknowledge the King's fon Prince of Scotland and Wales as ap-" parent heir of the Crown, and promise to pray for him as such." He refused to comply with this, saying he could not in conscience, sign it. Ch. What, do you pretend conscience in refusing to own the King's fon as apparent heir? G. I cannot help my weakness; conscience cannot be constrained. Cb. Whether or not, failing the Prince of Wales, would you acknowledge the Princess of Orange as apparent heir of the crown? G. Yes, my Lord. Ch. And why not the Prince of Wales now? Mr. Gordon was filent. In short, they were very pressing upon him to give his reasons, but he still declined. He was then removed, and, in a little, fent up under a guard, and committed prifoner to the Castle. However, it was not thought proper to keep him confined, and therefore, upon his begging to be fet at liberty, and declaring, that if, in any thing, he was mistaken, or had offended his Lordship, he was forry for it, for he defired to give no offence

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to few, nor Gentile, nor to the Church of God, he was released, and returned to his charge the best way he could. I shall only observe here, that had Mr. Gordon been before the managers, some time ago, he had not got so easily off; but now their power was near a period.

The King alters his conduct.

By this time, every body almost beginning to be taken with the proposals made by his Highness the Prince of Orange, published in his excellent declaration for England; the King found it his interest, to retract some of his arbitrary and despotick proceedings. Accordingly, the Bishop of London's suspension was taken off, the ecclesiastical commission was dissolved, the city charter and the fellows of Magdalen College were restored, and other illegal practices renounced; but, upon the news of the Prince of Orange's sleet, being dispersed by a storm, his Majesty put a stop to all further redress of grievances.

The Prince lands at Torbay. ftorm, his Majesty put a stop to all further redress of grievances.

But the Prince having repaired his damages, put to sea a second time on the first of November, and, after a remarkable passage, in which the wind almost miraculously favoured him, he landed at Torbay on the 5th, with about 14000 men. What passed in England on this remarkable occasion, is particularly recorded by the English historians, and therefore I shall not insert it here.

Wodrow.

While these things were a doing, the Scots Bishops, on the 3d of November sent a letter, of a peculiar stile to the King, from whence the reader may see the difference between the English and Scots Bishops; the substance of it is as follows:

The Bishops letter to the King.

WE prostrate our selves to pay our most devote thanks and adoration to the Sovereign Majora of II May it please your most Sacred Majesty, for perferving your facred life and person, so frequently exposed to the greatest hazards, and as often delivered, and you miracu-" loufly prospered with glory and wictory, in defence of the rights and honour of your Majesty's august brother, and of these kingdoms; and that, by his merciful gooodness, the raging of the sea, and " the madness of unreasonable men have been stilled and calmed, " and your Majesty, as the darling of beaven, peaceably seated on the throne of your royal ancestors, whose long, illustrious and un-" paralelled line is the greatest glory of this your ancient kingdom. We pay our most humble gratitude to your Majesty for the repeated " assurances of your royal protection to our national church and religion, as the laws have established them.--- We magnify the divine " mercy, in bleffing your Majesty with a son, and us with a Prince, " whom we pray heaven may bless and preferve, to sway your royal sceptres after you; and that he may inherit, with your dominions, " the illustrious and beroic virtues of his august and most serene parents. "We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invasion from Holland, " which excites our prayers for an universal repentance from all " orders of men, that God may yet spare his people, preserve your " royal person, and prevent the effusion of christian blood, and to " give fuch fuccess to your Majesty's arms, that all, who invade " your Majesty's just and undoubted rights, --- may be disappointed " and clothed with shame; so that on your royal head the crown " may still flourish." They conclude with professions of unshaken loyalty, and with wishing the King the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies; and they received a proper answer, which 1688. needs not be inferted.

In consequence of a letter from the King, dated November 5, the Proclama-Council issued a proclamation against spreading of false news, with tion. a defign to prevent the spreading of the Prince's declarations; but it had now but little weight, the people being the more fond to fee thefe excellent papers.

The Prince, in his declaration for Scotland, among other things, The Prince

"The lamentable effects of an arbitrary power, and of evil Coun-range's fels, are so manifest, in the deplorable state of the kingdom of declara-" Scotland, that both our reason and conscience do prompt us to an tion for " abhorrence of them. For when we confider the fad condition that Scotland. " nation, tho' always affectionate to the royal family, and governed, for many ages, by laws made by the authority of their Kings and " of the estates of Parliament, and by common customs, is re-" duced to by endeavours—to change the conflitution of the mo-" narchy, regulate by laws, into a despotick or arbitrary power, "which doth evidently appear, not only by the actings of evil " counsellors in power, but by publick declarations bearing, that " the King is an absolute Monarch, to whom obedience ought to be given, in all things, without reserve; thereby to make way to in-" troduce what religion they please. - Whilst we consider these " things, as we cannot but be touched with a tender fense of these miseries, so the giving such a remedy to them, as may—answer

thing, which we propose to ourselves in this undertaking.-" It is well known, that the laws, privileges and rights of the Kingdom have been overturned,—and—what have been the arbitrary procedures of an encroaching PRIVY-COUNCIL; for-"these evil counsellors have ordered, or suffered young Noblemen " to be taken from their relations, and to be fent abroad to be instructed in Jesuits colleges, and have likewise caused schools to be erected, under the conduct of popish pricits, and that in the capital

the expectation of all good men and true protestants, is the great

city of the kingdom.

" In an open contempt also of the known laws of the kingdom, " the papifts are put into places of bighest trust, both civil and mi-" litary, and entrusted with all the forts and magazines. The rights " and privileges of royal burghs, the third effate of parliament, hav-"ing as many deputies in it as all the shires of the kingdom, are " taken away, and they hindred, in the free election of their magistrates, to the manifest violation of their charters established by " law and immemorial possession; and all this done by mere arbitrary

"spower, without any citation, trial, or sentence.

"And whereas no nation can subfift without the administration " of good and impartial justice, ---- yet those evil counsellors have " subjected these to an absolute and despotick power, having turned out judges, who, by law, ought to continue during life, or their good behaviour,—and put others in their place—without any " regard to their abilities.

" By the influence of the same evil counsellors, hath a most exor-"bitant power been exercised, in imposing bonds and oaths, in " permitting

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permitting free quarters to the foldiers, -- in imprisoning Gentle. men without any, fo much as alledged, reason, forcing many to " accuse and witness against themselves, imposing arbitrary fines, frighting and harrassing many parts of the country, with intercommuning and \* justice airs, making some incur forfeiture of life and " fortune, for the most general and harmless converse, even with "their nearest relations outlawed,—impowering officers and soldiers to act upon the subjects—the greatest barbarities, in destroying them, by hanging, shooting and drowning them, without any form of law, or respect to age and sex, not giving some of them time to pray to God for mercy; and this for no other reason, " but because they would not answer, or satisfy them, in such ques-" tions, as they proposed to them, without any warrant of law, and " against the common interest of mankind, which frees all men from " being obliged to discover their secret thoughts; besides a great " many other violences and oppressions, to which that poor nation " hath been exposed, without any hope of having an end put to " them, or to have relief from them."

The rest of his Highness's declaration, which is no mean confirmation of the preceding part of this history, relates to their design of abolishing the penal laws, and then to take away the toleration to diffenters, to the imposture of the Pretender, and his Highness's intention to redress all their grievances; and therefore it is no wonder, though it had a great influence on the most part of the nobility, gentry and common people in Scotland, who very soon heartily de-

clared themselves for the Prince.

After this, there is very little concerning the proceedings of the managers in Scotland. The body of the nation hated them, and the furprizing progress of the Prince in England, threw them into such a consternation, that they began to think how to provide, in the best manner, for their own safety. In several places, the Prince of Orange's Declaration was publickly proclaimed, as at Glasgow, Irwin, and Air, and most other burghs. The revd. Mr. Lining, in his preface to Mr. Shields's tract on church communion, says, that the western people encouraged this proclamation at Glasgow, before it was published in any other place in the kingdom, and that these people prayed publickly for the success of his enterprize, even before he landed in England. On the last of November, the Earl of Lowdon, and several other young Gentlemen, at that time students in the University of Glasgow, burnt the Pope's effigy, together with the efficies of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, without any opposition.

In the beginning of December, the mob shewed a keenness of refentment against popery at Edinburgh. When a popish meeting in the Canongate was dismissing, some apprentices and others affronted them. Information being given against them on Monday, some soldiers were ordered to apprehend them; and accordingly two servants of the baker's, with a woman, were taken up and cruelly whipt from the Tolbooth to the Abbey, then remitted to prison, and af-

terwards banished.

While the foldiers apprehended the last mentioned person, a struggle was made by the apprentices, and one Alexander Keith a sencing-master, happened to cry out to the young men, Lads, have you no server discovered?

Prince of Orange's declaration proclaimed.

Keith a fencingmaster

hanged.

Mob at

Edin-

burgh.

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fwords? Next night he was taken out of bed, and, for these, or the 1688. like words, was, a few days after, hanged at the Cross. This, and some other things, exasperated the people in such a manner, that, to prevent rifings, guards were kept in twenty or thirty places of the town: and as there were no regular forces, but an independant company under Captain Wallace at the Abbay, the reports of massacres

and the like were spread, and the people greatly alarmed.

On Sabbath, December the 9th, some idle persons, after walking Proceedin the Park and St. Anthony's gardens, came to the Abbay, to pass that ings of the way, as the nearest road; but found all the avenues shut, and cannon mob. placed at every gate, and were charged by the centinels not to come near. This, with the report that the court was full of armed men, increased the jealousies of the populace, and the fears of the more confiderate. In the evening, some young men got together, and began to buzza; upon which the students and apprentices gathered at the college. The magistrates ordered all the gates of the city to be shut, and the keys to be delivered to Provost Prince. The youths furrounded his house, threatned to burn it, if he refused the keys. From thence they marched to the Cross, broke open the doors, and proclaimed an offer of 400 l. flerl. to any, who should bring Perth or Melford dead or alive.

Next day, in the forenoon, the magistrates issued a proclamation Several against tumults. It was no sooner read, than the mob tore it in killed. The Chancellor and his family, feeing how matters were like to go, thought proper to retire. Matters continued quiet till towards the evening, when the mob gathered at the Cowgate, and marched down to the Nether-bow, and finding the Canongate-guard friendly, they proceeded, and at the Canongate Cross, took down the Earl of Perth's picture, and carried it with them to the Abbay. Captain Wallace advanced with some soldiers. This made them halt; however, they fent to demand access to the Court, and, upon his refusing, beat their drum, and, with a cry, run in upon him. He ordered his men to fire, by which some were killed and several wounded. The apprentices and the rest, after sustaining his fire, rushed in upon him, killed two of the soldiers, and forced the rest to fly to the Abbey, the gates of which being prefently thut, they could get no further at that time.

Upon this, they retired a little, and fent a detachment to take The mob care of the dead and wounded, and to require further affistance. affifted by This party carried with them some of the arms and hands of the the trained dead and wounded, and shewed them to some Gentlemen, then at a bands, vintner's, who immediately applied to the magnifrates for help, but were refused. This so exasperated these commissioners from the apprentices, that they threatned to burn the town. At last, by the interest of the faid Gentlemen, a quorum of the Council ordered the magistrates to raise the trained bands, and sent two heralds with them to require Captain Wallace to furrender, and to use force, if he

should refuse.

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The Captain was summoned to surrender the Abbay in the Coun-became CIL's name; but not thinking proper to yield, the town-guard and masters of trained bands commanded by Captains M'Gill and Graham, attacked the Abbay. him; and, after some firing on both sides, Captain Grabam broke

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1688. in by a back-passage, which being observed by those in the Abbay,

they fled, and 36 were taken prisoners.

killed 14
foldiers,
and rifled
the chapel, &c.

The youths observing this, rushed in and killed all the soldiers they met with, to the number of about sourceen. Then they rished the chapel and schools, brought the timber work, library, and whatever they could lay their hands on, and burnt them in the court. In like manner they served the images, after carrying them in procession through the streets. They razed the new work in the church, turned up the marble pavement, rissed the Chancellor's apartments, and committed every thing to the slames. Next day, for there was no power to restrain them, they went through all the houses of papishs, they could hear of, and required their books, beads, crosses, and images, which they solemnly burnt in the streets. Next day, a mob of common thieves got up and plundered several houses, but that was soon over.

Last acts of the Council.

On the 14th of December, the Council met, and made an act, ordering the sheriffs and other magistrates to search the houses of papists within their jurisdictions, and secure all arms and ammunition they should find there; recommending to them to protect their persons and houses from publick tumults and private infults. On the 24th, they made their last act, wherein they required all protestant subjects to put themselves in a posture of defence, for securing their religion, lives, liberties and properties, and all heritors to repair to the head burghs of their respective shires and stewartries, to be rendevouzed under proper persons mentioned in the act: and now the reader cannot but observe a great alteration. The Council had been harrassing and persecuting the subjects, for 28 years past, for that very thing, which now they call them to; but the truth is, the managers had now lost their power, they had no army to support them, and, to use the words of a noted enemy to the revolution, the Earl of Balcarras, they were forced to overlook what they had not force to suppress; for during the whole administration of the party, things were carried on by force.

Tumults in the West, p. 804, 805.

The people, in the queffern counties, ran immediately to arms. "They thought, fays Bishop Burnet, that the time was now come, not only to procure themselves ease and liberty, but to revenge themfelves upon others. They generally broke in upon the episcopal clergy, with great insolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the parishes in mock procession, tore their gowns, and drove them from their churches and houses; nor did they treat those of them, who did appear zealously against popery, with any distinction." These mobbing doings began on Christmas day 1688, and continued for several weeks; and it is certain, the prelatical clergy suffered not a little. However, they have aggravated the matter beyond all the bounds of truth and modesty, by representing the outrages of those western tumults as such, that even the French dragooning could not equal them; but the many lies and falshoods, they published upon this point, have been sufficiently exposed by the revd Dr. Rule and others.

Remarks.

I shall not pretend to vindicate what was done by mobbs and tumults; but then I cannot help offering these following things to the consideration of the reader. I. The people who did these things

were under the highest provocations, considering the sufferings they 1688. had endured. How many of them had lost fathers, mothers, children, husbands and wives, during the period of the late tyrannical administration. 2. Those ministers, or curates, as they were called, who now felt a little of their refentment, had not only been intruded on the people without their confent, but were the chief instruments of the most horrid persecutions and barbarities, that people had endured. And as oppression makes a wise man mad, was it any wonder, though it made a provoked mob rush into some practices; that are not to be justified in any civilized christian nation? It is rather furprizing, that they did not carry their refentments much higher. 3. These things were acted in an INTEREGNUM, when there was neither civil, nor ecclefiaftical government. One King had run away, another was not yet established, matters were all in confusion, and the poor people being now able to shake off the intolerable yoke, they had long groaned under, can we think it strange, that they relieved themselves, when there was none else that either could, or would? But suppose unjustifiable violences were committed by these tumults, what is that to the church? It was done by no act either of church or state. But not to infist further on this.

While these things were a doing in Scotland, the King withdrew to 1689. France; the Prince of Orange was put in possession of the government of England, the Chancellor the Earl of Perth had refigned. Prince of Several Scots Noblemen and Gentlemen had gone to London, to de-Orange fire a free Parliament. On the 7th of January, 1689, his Highness accepts the affembled such of the Scots Lords and Gentlemen as were there, admini-and asked their advice, what was to be done for the securing the stration protestant religion, and restoring their laws and liberties, according of the goto his declaration. The Prince then retired, and they went to the vernment council chamber at Whitehall, and, having chose the Duke of Ha- of Scot-milton their president, agreed upon an address to his Highness; but land. as they were going to break up at that time, the Earl of Arran fon Tindal's to the Duke of Hamilton, proposed, that they should move the continua-Prince of Orange, to defire the King to return, and call a free Partion, p. liament; but it was unanimously rejected, and by none more than 62, &c by his own father. Next day, they met in the same place, and agreed upon an address, thanking his Highness for his pious and generous undertaking, and desiring him to take upon him the administration of the government of Scattery and Suppose a suppose of the government of Scattery and Suppose a suppose of the government of Scattery and Suppose a suppose of the government of Scattery and Suppose a suppose of the government of Scattery and Suppose a suppose of the government of Scattery and Suppose a suppose of the government of Scattery and nistration of the government of Scotland, and Summon a convention of estates to meet at Edinburgh on the 14th of March next; and that the electors and members of the faid meeting, be protestants, without any other exception, or limitation whatfoever. The address was subfcribed by above 30 Lords and about 80 Gentlemen. The Duke of Hamilton presented it to the Prince, who thanked them for it, and on the 14th, fignified his compliance with it, affuring them, that they should always find him ready to concur in every thing, that may be found necessary for securing the protestant religion, and restoring the laws and liberties of the nation. The Earls of Crawford and Lothian, who came to town after the address was presented, waited on the Prince, and defired that they might be allowed to subscribe it, which was granted.

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In the mean time, the Lords and Commons of England having finished their debates as to the vacancy of the throne, declared the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, France and Ireland; and they were accordingly proclaimed on the 13th of February, to the universal joy of all true and hearty protestants.

National Covenant renewed.

On the 3d of March, the people of the western shires had a large meeting at Lesmahagow, where they renewed the NATIONAL Covenant, and, in a folemn manner, swore to stand to the defence of his Highness the Prince of Orange, his person and authority, when lawfully CHOSEN and established as King, or supreme magistrate over them; fo that however they were enemies to tyranny, yet they were hearty friends to legal government.

Convention of Estates. Memoirs of N. Brit. p. 29, 37.

On the 14th of March, the Convention of Estates sat down at Edinburgh; and it is well known, that the members of it were Gentlemen of piety and virtue, of the best families and fortunes in the kingdom. In the author quoted in the margin, the reader may fee a lift of them. There was a very small party among them that adhered to the interest of King James, as will presently appear. The Bishop of Edinburgh said prayers, and being of the tory stamp, he prayed for the fafety and refioration of King James. The house then proceeded to chuse a president; the tory party were for the Marquis of Athol, the protestant party for the Duke of Hamilton, who carried it by 40 votes; fo that the whigs had a great majority, before the Bishops and malcontent Peers left the house.

Duke of Gordon Inmmoned.

As the Duke of Gordon a papift, was in possession of the Castle of Edinburgh, the Convention gave a warrant to the Earls of Lothian and Tweedale to fummon the Duke to furrender. All the Bishops and discontented Lords concurred in this vote; as they did in another next day, that he should be proclaimed traitor, and the castle blocked up. And now as the Duke had King James's commission in his pocket, the reader is to judge, whether these passive obedience Gentlemen did not act inconfistent with their principles, and the interest of their abdicated master; but this is, and has always been, the way of Jacobites;

King Wilter preferred to King James's.

but I must hasten to a conclusion. The meeting had a letter from King James delivered to them, liam's lei- two days after they met; and the Earl of Leven brought them another letter from King WILLIAM. Then it was debated, which should be read first; but King WILLIAM's carried it by a great majority; and before the other letter was read, it was enacted, that, notwithstanding any thing contained in it, they should proceed, till they had fettled the protestant religion, the government, laws and liberties of the kingdom. This was figned by feven or eight of the Bishops, and all the Jacobite and Tory Members, fix or seven only excepted. How inconfishent this was with the Scots Bishops letter to King James (p. 486) must be left with the reader. Not a member of the house moved for an answer to King James's letter, so little did they regard his threatnings, of which it was full; but on the 23d, they returned a dutiful answer to that of King WILLIAM, in which they congratulated his Majesty, for the success of his undertakings, thanked him for taking upon him the administration of publick a fairs, and affured him that they would come fpeedily to proper refolutions for establishing the government, laws and liberties, upon

## Chap. 16. CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

folid foundations, and agreeable to the general good and inclinations 1689.

of the people.

On the 26th of March, a Committee was named for fettling the Committee government, confishing of nine Lords, nine Knights, and nine Gentle- for fettling men. The Bishops were excluded; for the house was so jealous of the gothem, that they ordered them not to infinuate, in their prayers, vernment. any thing against their acts and proceedings; for they had justly offended the generality of the state, by their former compliance with King James's arbitrary government, by their prayers at the beginming of the fession, and other things, that discovered their distatisfaction to King WILLIAM and the fettlement now to be made.

During the confultations of this Committee, some Scots regiments, West coununder the command of General Macay, came from England; where- try people upon the Convention, on the 28th of March, agreed that the Earl dismissed. of Leven, who was one of those Noblemen, that came over with the Prince of Orange; should return their thanks to the people, who came upon their own charges, from the West, to guard the Convention, and to dismiss them, and suffer them to return to their respective habitations, with their arms. It appears, from the act of the Convention, that these people, after they came to Edinburgh,

were under the command of the faid Lord Leven.

As these people, however reproached by their enemies, as the Petition of wild, antimonarchical, enthusiastick, lunatick Cameronians, were the people among the first in Scotland, who took up arms for the Prince of of the West Orange, fo they were the first men in Scotland, that addressed, or pe- to the titioned, the Convention of Estates, to place the crown of Scotland Convenon the head of their Deliverer King WILLIAM; from which it ap- tion. pears, that though they were enemies to tyranny and arbitrary power, yet they were not enemies to legal government, or the conflitution of their country. The tenor of their petition is as follows:

To the meeting of the estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, viz. the Noblemen, Barons and Burgeffes, lawfully called and chosen, now affembled at Edinburgh, for establishing the government, restoring and Securing the true religion, laws and liberties of the Said kingdom.

The humble petition of the poor people, who have suffered grievous persecution, for their religion, and for their revolt from and disowning the authority of King JAMES VII. pleading for devolving the government upon the Prince of Orange now King of England,

Sheweth, &c.

Here they rehearse the sufferings of Scotland under the tyranny of King JAMES VII. and proceed thus:

X / E prostrate our selves, yet under the forrowing smart of our If till bleeding wounds, at your Honour's feet, who have a call, " a capacity, and, we hope, a heart to heal us; and we offer this our " petition enforced, and conjuring your honours to hearken to us.

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"By all the formerly felt, presently seen, and, for the future, seared effects and efforts of popery and tyranny, by the cry of the blood of our murthered brethren, by the sufferings of the banished free-born subjects of this realm, now groaning in servitude, being sold into slavery in the English plantations of America, by the miseries that many thousands forfeited, disinherited, harrassed and wasted houses have been reduced to, by all the sufferings of a faithful people, for adhering to the antient covenanted establishment of resiligion and liberty, and by all the arguments of justice, necessity and mercy, that ever could join together, to begin communica-

" tion among men of wisdom, piety and vertue.

" Humbly befeeching, requesting and craving of your Honours, " NOW, when God hath given you this opportunity to act for his glory, the good of the church, of the nation, your own honour and the happiness of posterity; NOW, when this kingdom, the " neighbouring, and all the nations of Europe have their eyes upon " you, expecting you will acquit yourselves like the representatives " of a free nation, in redeeming it from flavery, otherwise inevitable, " following the example of your renowned ancestors, and the pat-" tern of the present Convention and Parliament in England: "THAT you will proceed without any delay, to declare the "WICKED government dissolved, the crown and throne vacant, " and IAMES VII. whom we never have owned, and refolved, in " conjunction with many thousands of our countrymen, never " again to own, to have really forfeited, and rightly to be deprived " of all right and title, he ever had, or could ever pretend to have, "thereto, and to provide, that it may never be in the power of " any succeeding ruler, to aspire unto, or arise, to such a capacity " of tyrannizing. Moreover, fince Anarchy and Tyranny are equally " to be detested, and the nation cannot subfist without a righteous " governor, as also, that none can have a nearer right, or fitter " qualifications, than his Illustrious Highness the Prince of Orange, " whom the Most High has fingularly owned, and honoured to be " our deliverer from popery and flavery: we cry therefore to your " Honours, and crave that King WILLIAM, now proclaimed King " of England, may be CHOSEN and proclaimed also King of Scot-" land; and that the legal authority may be devolved upon him, " with such necessary provisions and limitations, as may give just and " legal fecurities for the peace and purity of religion, the stability " of our laws, privileges of Parliament, and liberties of the people, " civil and ecclefiaftick, and may thereby make our subjection both " a clear duty, and a comfortable happiness." [bere they enlarge upon the King's being obliged to profess and preserve the pure religion and the ework of reformation, and conclude thus : ] " Upon fuch terms as thefe, " we render our allegiance to King WILLIAM, and hope to give " more pregnant proofs of our loyalty to his Majesty, in adverse, " as well as in prosperous providences, than they have done, or can "do, who profess implicit subjection to absolute authority, so long " only, as providence preferves its grandeur."

Remarks.

Here the reader may see, how willing these people were to submit to legal government, in opposition to tyranny and arbitrary power;

and

and though they were accused of going heights and lengths, in difowning the tyranny of the royal brothers, yet now the whole nation concurr with them. Nay, fo hearty were these people, that, in one day, without beat of drum, or expence of levy-money, they raifed the Earl of Angus's regiment of 800 men, and offered to complete two or three regiments more, if his Majesty should have occafion for them. The revd. Mr. Lining fays, that they mustered in one day 1140 men: and it is well known what fervice this regiment did both in Scotland and in Flanders; but I now return to the Convention.

1689.

The Committee above-mentioned, having come to a resolution The throne among themselves, after a few days sitting, reported it to the house. declared After the debate was over, the question was put, whether the house vacant. agreed with the Committee. It was carried in the affirmative by a Mem. of great majority, there being only eight or nine negative voices, of N. Brit. whom seven were Bishops, and 13 or 14 non liquets, of whom two Lords, one Knight of the Shire, and the rest Burgesses; so that

the house came to the following resolution:

" The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that "King JAMES VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal " power, and acted as King, without ever taking the oath required " by law, and hath, by the advice of wicked and evil connfellors, " invaded the fundamental conflitutions of this kingdom, and al-" tered it from a legal limited monarchy, to an absolute and despo-" tick power, and hath exercised the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of "the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he hath FORFAULTED the crown, and the throne is become va-" CANT." The reasons for declaring the throne vacant, containing 15 articles, were read and debated article by article, and were explained by Sir John Dalrymple and Sir James Montgomery, with so much learning, that they gave almost general satisfaction, none speaking against them, but the Archbishop of Glasgow and Mr. James Ogilvie, afterwards Earl of F-

The Convention having thus far proceeded, immediately ordered K. Wila bill to be brought in, " to fettle the crown on King WILLIAM liam and " and Queen MARY, and to confider the terms of the destination 2. Mary " of the heirs of the crown, and to prepare an inftrument of govern-proclaimed ment for securing the people from their grievances." When this at Edinvote was past, and the bill ordered to be drawn, the Bishop of Dundee burgh. offered to fay prayers. Upon this a member moved, that King JAMES Ibid. being no more their King, he must pray for him at his peril. cautious prelate thought proper to fay only the Lord's Prayer. Their Majesties were accordingly proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland on the 11th of April, the same day they were crowned in Eng.

land.

The Instrument of Government, or claim of right, the reader Claim of may fee in my author's appendix, No 154, in which, among other right. things, it is declared, "that by the law of this Kingdom, no papift " can be King or Queen of this realm, nor bear any office whatfo-" ever therein; nor can any protestant successor exercise the regal

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power, until he or she swear the coronation oath. - That pre-" lacy and the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters, " is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble " to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of "the people, ever fince the reformation, they having reformed from " popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished .-

Conveninto a Parliament. Tindal's tion.

The act of settlement being thus passed, the Convention ordered a tion turned dutiful letter to be drawn up, and fent with it, in which a clause was put, at the motion of the Earl of Crawford, of an humble request to the King, to turn that meeting of the Estates into a Parliament. In consequence of this, the Duke of Hamilton acquainted the Convention, that his Majesty had been pleased to appoint him his Commis-Continua- fioner, and that he was impowered to give his confent to an act for turning the meeting of the Estates into a Parliament, and that the Earl of Crawford was to prefide. This act was accordingly passed the same day, and the Parliament was prorogued to the 17th.

Act abolacy.

The Parliament fat down on the 17th, and in July passed an act

lishing pre- abolishing prelacy, which is as follows:

"Whereas the estates this kingdom, in their claim of right of " the 11th of April last, declared that prelacy, &c. Our Sove-" reign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majesties, do hereby " abolish prelacy and superiority in any office in the church above " presbyters in this kingdom; and hereby rescind, cass and annul " the 1st act of the 2d fession of 1st Parliament of King Charles II. " and the 2d act of the 3d fession of the 2d Parliament of King " Charles II. and the 4th act of the 3d Parl. of King Charles II. and " other acts, statutes, and constitutions, in so far only, as they are " inconfistent with this act, and do establish prelacy or the superiority " of church officers above presbyters. And the King and Queen's "Majesty do declare, that they, with the advice and consent of the Estates of this Parliament, will settle, by law, that church govern-" ment in this kingdom which is most agreeable to the inclinations " of the people." And thus the great grievance of the nation was removed.

Acts of the next seson.

The next Session of Parliament, to which the Earl of Melvil was his Majesty's high Commissioner, carried this further; for by their first act, they rescinded act I Parl. 2 Char. II. viz. the act afferting his Majesty's supremacy, as inconsistent with presbyterian government, and what ought to be abrogated: and by their 2d act, they restored presbyterian Ministers thrust from their charges since 1661: and by their 5th act, they ratified the Confession of Faith, and settled presbyterian government: by their 23d act, they abolished patronages: by their 27th, they repealed the laws for conformity; and by their 28th, they reversed several other unjust acts during the two last reigns; and in one word they reverfed all the acts, by which so many had been forfeited. And thus an end was put to a most cruel and bloody perfecution, and the church of Scotland restored to the freedom of her general assemblies, synods, presbyteries and church fessions.

Conclusion.

From the whole, it appears, that all the true members of the Church of Scotland, nay, and all true and hearty protestants have unspeakable reason to bless God for the remarkable interposition of

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his providence at this revolution. Must not the hand of God be 1689. owned in preserving a people even in the furnace, to be instrumental in bringing about such a glorious event? By this an end was put to perfecution on the one hand, and flavery on the other; by this the religious and civil rights of the people were restored, nay, and the protestant succession established for transmitting these things to posterity. But then it is but too evident, that care has not been taken to improve those invaluable bleffings then bestowed upon us. May a good and gracious God give all ranks and degrees of persons a sense of their departures from him, revive a work of reformation, and appear glorious in these islands.

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Page 4, Margin, read letter. p. 11, line 36, after of add, p. 26, marg. read J. Archer. p. 55, l. 24, r. and, about. p. 56, l. 11, r. went out of. p. 76, l. 33, r. 29th of June (p. 48) p. 80 l. 15, r. M'Ghie of Larg. p. 86, l. 34, r. ministry. p. 90, for 404, r. 515. p. 103, l. 18, r. he threw. p. 108, marg. for 1738, r. 1687. p. 122, l. 28, dele to. p. 133; l. 12, after Riddel, r. (p. 119) p. 134, l. 7, r. as to either. p. 136, l. last, r. it was soon. p. 172, l. 22, dele was. Ibid. l. 23, dele the. p. 176, l. 39, r. thors. p. 205, marg. r. to be examined. p. 250, l. last, marg. r. vind. p. 81, p. 282, l. 27, r. Tarboltoun. p. 283, l. 28, r. sinsul. p. 286, l. 17, r. maltster. p. 288, marg. r. covenants. p. 299, l. 1, for her, r. ther. p. 344, Mar. r. 1685. p. 353, marg. r. 1685. p. 381, l. 18, 19, r. with whom the Earl ordered him to march to the Tarbet, Ibid. l. 35, r. Muirend-side. p. 390, l. 4, r. and a right to the sines of all Delinquents. p. 429, l. 25, r. ground. p. 438, l. 12, r. Buchans.

